

# A HISTORY

OF

IRISH AFFAIRS,

FROM

The 12th of OCTOBER, 1779,

TO

The 15th September, 1782, the Day of  
Lord TEMPLE'S Arrival.

BY

*K*  
FRANCIS DOBBS, Esq.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY M. MILLS, No. 135, CAPEL-STREET.

M.DCC.LXXXII.

HISTORY

OF

IRISH AFFAIRS



1770

The

The eight September, 1782, the Day of  
Lord Tenterden's Arrival.

BY

HANCOCK DOBBS, Esq.

DUBLIN:

Printed by M. SMITH, No. 135, CARRINGTON STREET.

M.DCC.LXXXII.



TO HIS GRACE

The DUKE of PORTLAND.

My Lord Duke,

YOUR private and public character, had you never been Viceroy of Ireland, would naturally point out your Grace as the patron of a work, friendly to FREEDOM and MANKIND.

BUT the glorious part which you have had in the emancipation of my country, peculiarly induces me, to dedicate this History to your Grace; small as the compliment may be, it is sincere, and one that I would only pay to Virtue.

I have the honor to be,

Your Grace's most devoted and  
most humble servant,

FRANCIS DOBBS.

No. 10. 1848

The Duke of Portland

My Lord

I am very glad to hear that you are well and hope you will continue so. I am very glad to hear that you are well and hope you will continue so. I am very glad to hear that you are well and hope you will continue so.

I am very glad to hear that you are well and hope you will continue so. I am very glad to hear that you are well and hope you will continue so. I am very glad to hear that you are well and hope you will continue so.

I am very glad to hear that you are well and hope you will continue so. I am very glad to hear that you are well and hope you will continue so. I am very glad to hear that you are well and hope you will continue so.

## TO THE PUBLIC.

*THE important transactions which have happened in the administrations of Lord Buckinghamshire, Lord Carlisle, and the Duke of Portland, must render a history of those times interesting to every man. It is a period peculiarly interesting to Irishmen. In that short time their country was emancipated,—a bloodless Revolution took place, and we became united with our former tyrant, by the sacred bond of equal Freedom.*

*I shall not enter into a minute detail, except of the most important events. The leading features will in general be sufficient, and every reader will be able to fill up the canvass. What I assert as facts, I will take all possible care shall be so. You must determine how far my conclusions are just. It is your right, and I humbly submit to it.*

FRANCIS DOBBS.

## TO THE PUBLIC.

THE important transactions which have happened in the administrations of Lord Buckinghamshire, Lord Castlereagh, and the Duke of Portland, must render a history of those times interesting to every man. It is a period peculiarly interesting to his-  
tory. In that first time their country was emancipated, — a bloody Revolution took place, and we became united with our former tyrant, by the sacred bond of equal  
Freedom.

I shall not enter into a minute detail, or copy of the most important events. The facts of the history will be general as far as possible, and every reader will be able to fill up the details. What I desire to tell, is, that all possible care has been taken to ascertain how far the government was in error, and I humbly submit it.

FRANCIS DOBBS



[ 8 ]

H I S T O R Y  
OF  
IRISH AFFAIRS, &c.

**A**S this history commences in October 1779, it cannot be amiss to take a short view of the situation of Ireland at that period. Whether we were, or were not, a conquered nation, is, in my opinion, no way material: We were men, and as such had a right to be free.—The 6th of Geo. I. was founded in power and injustice, for we had a right, in every shape, to the British constitution, and that law deprived us of it: In October 1779, it not only existed, but was exercised, and there were many British acts of parliament binding Ireland.

Here let us behold what was going forward beyond the Atlantic, for, it was  
on

on the plains of America, that Ireland obtained her freedom: Great Britain, mad with power, and unjust, because she thought she might be so with impunity, attempted to tax America: She had also involved herself in a war with the House of Bourbon, and their united powers were exerted against her: She had sacrificed a trade that brought her annually, a balance of three millions in her favor; and in the wild pursuit of an ideal, and unjust revenue, she had squandered her treasure, and spilt her best and dearest blood. That power, however, that had misled her, was sinking, and the day was approaching, when misfortune was to teach her justice.

Ireland beheld with pleasure, the glorious struggle of the Americans—sharers in one common calamity, we could not behold her fate with indifference:—the same right as to us, was openly avowed in the British senate, and we saw that if Great Britain succeeded, in establishing  
British

British supremacy over the colonies, Ireland would be included.

Another consequence of the American war, and that with France and Spain, was the inferiority of the British navy.—The coasts of Ireland were totally unprotected, and privateers infested them from every quarter :—Our sea port towns were in danger, even from their crews, and might have been plundered with impunity.—The military establishment had been so drained to recruit the regiments in America, that it was totally inadequate to our defence.—Hence, arose Volunteers—it was necessity that introduced them—the glorious purpose of emancipating their country grew out of, but did not originate them.

The necessities of the state obliged Government to suffer, what it early beheld with a jealous eye; and in October 1779, they were a very considerable body.—About this time the once glorious fleet  
of

of England was obliged to seek her ports, and leave the combined fleet triumphant in the channel.—The Irish administration trembling for our fate, delivered out to the people 16,000 stand of arms, and thereby added to the Volunteers. The illegality of Volunteers was no longer talked of—every day increased them in number, improved them in discipline, and rendered them more formidable to all their enemies.

A free trade began to be loudly demanded by all ranks of people. The situation of Ireland was truly dreadful. Her ships were taken, even in sight of her ports; her trade in almost every branch, tyrannically shackled by England; an embargo on the greatest of her exports, her provisions; her linens, lying upon the merchants hands; her imports and her absentees taking all her money; and nothing, or almost nothing, coming in, to supply her exhausted treasury. Thus circumstanced, her peasants, already among



mong the most wretched of the earth, had the prospect of famine and desolation; and of an addition, to what almost appeared the extent of human misery.

At this period a number of well written and spirited writings filled the newspapers, and drew the attention of the people to their situation: Guatimozin's and Owen Roe O'Nial's Letters, deservedly caught the public eye, and patriotism began to diffuse itself through every breast.

This was, I believe, nearly the state of the nation in October 1779, when Lord Buckinghamshire opened that session of parliament.—In the debate which followed his speech from the throne, the miseries of Ireland were fully expatiated upon. Not only the firm and decided Patriot, but also those, who had preferred on other occasions, their own, to their country's interest, declared the necessity of a **FREE TRADE**: Mr. Prime Serjeant Burgh, with

with a noble spirit, moved that the address proposed to the King, should be amended with these words, "That it is not by temporary expedients, but by a Free Trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin,"—and the amendment was carried unanimously.

The nation rejoiced at this glorious opening of the Session; and poured forth its gratitude to parliament.—Parliament in return paid their tribute of thanks to the Volunteers.

My wish is to be impartial; I think we have every reason to believe, Lord Buckinghamshire faithfully represented us to the English administration. But I also think, no permanent or lasting Free Trade was intended us.

The people at large supported parliament, and a non-importation agreement took place. This was an effectual cure to English selfishness. The manufacturing

nufacturing towns in England soon perceived its effect. Ireland was their best, and surest market, and that market was shut against them. This brought them, and their parliament, to a different temper. In December, 1779, Lord North brought forward his propositions. They were received and passed; and a little before Christmas, the news arrived in Ireland.

Parliament was in rapture; the *people* were in rapture; Dublin was almost on fire; and a sort of frantic joy pervaded the nation

There were a few, who saw things in a different light—who saw the loss of a Free Trade in the appearance of one—who saw that the people might be amused by a shadow, till the hour, in which the substance might be obtained, had passed away—who saw that a Free Trade could not exist without a Free Constitution.

I was

I was one who thought so—I did not rejoice on this occasion, and as it was rather singular, I assigned my reasons, in the following letter to Lord North :

*“ A LETTER to the Right Hon. Lord  
NORTH.*

*“ My Lord,*

*“ From what has fallen from your Lordship in regard to Ireland, I conceive you are greatly misinformed, as to the ideas of the people at large. It is of the utmost consequence, in such a moment as this, that our sentiments should not be misunderstood. If they are, apparent satisfaction may conceal real jealousy and distrust; the bane of friendship in nations, as well as in men.*

*“ Your Lordship dwells on the address of our parliament being a petition for indulgence, not a demand of rights. My Lord, I conceive that address was to the KING OF IRELAND, without whose approbation*



probation our laws cannot be altered or enlarged. If your Lordship conceives that it was a supplication to the parliament of Great Britain, I apprehend you are mistaken. When the parliament of Ireland addressed their King, and told him that nothing but a FREE TRADE could save their country, they could not, I am persuaded they did not, forget why Ireland had not a Free Trade; they could not forget that Ireland was bound by British acts of parliament.

“ But, my Lord, should it even be possible that our parliament could forget the Great Question of Right, it cannot be forgot by the people; they know it, and will remember it. As one of that people, I deem it essential to freedom, and think myself justified as a man entitled to be free, to publicly argue for my own and my countrymens’ rights. The investigation of truth cannot be improper. In this instance, I am convinced that the surest mode of promoting the welfare of both kingdoms,

kingdoms, is to have our connexion fully explained and perfectly understood.

“ As an Irishman, give me leave to express my obligations to your Lordship, for the kind intentions which you have manifested to my country ; I do not even believe my countrymen want more than it is your wish to give. But, my Lord, they want it in a different mode ; they want what they have a right to, separated from the bounty of England. It shall therefore be the object of this letter to point out my own, and what I apprehend to be their reasons, for wishing for such a distinction.

“ At first, my Lord, your propositions, which have now in part become a law, gave pretty general satisfaction. Men hitherto restrained in almost every branch, naturally rejoiced at the first view of an extended commerce ; but when reason had investigated the principles, on which that extension was given ; when it was found

found to be a matter of EXPEDIENCY, not of right; when it was perceived that it rather established than relinquished the power of British legislation over Ireland,\* our transports sunk into a very moderate degree of pleasure; and even that pleasure was lessened by the precariousness of enjoyment.

“ My Lord, we claim to be a kingdom, with every right belonging to a kingdom; governed by our own legislature, the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland. We complain of the British legislature making laws to bind Ireland. We alledge it is without right, and we require that the legislature of Great Britain should relinquish a claim that we say they are not entitled to, and that they should obliterate the name of Ireland from their Statutes.

“ This is a short creed, but like all creeds admits of much explanation; let

C

us

\* The Act of Parliament lately made, only repeals part of the English acts binding Ireland.

us fairly discuss it; the examination will be no impeachment even to your Lordship's abilities, though it should oblige you to correspond with a man so much your inferior in rank and understanding. If my ideas, if the ideas of my countrymen are unjust and unreasonable, we are surely entitled to an explanation why they are so. If they are just and reasonable, they should be complied with. If they are just and reasonable, and not complied with, we have a right to do ourselves JUSTICE, if ever we have the power.

“ Here, my Lord, I shall beg leave to ask two questions : Is the kingdom of Ireland considered by the legislature of Great Britain as a CONQUERED NATION ? If not, is Ireland considered as a FREE KINGDOM, united with England by long usage, similarity of manners, vicinage, and a common King ?

“ If we are deemed a conquered nation,

and



and as such to hold every thing we possess at the will of the English, our conquerors; if we are in all things subject to their caprice; still, my Lord, there is one right that I apprehend cannot be taken from us: It is a right I almost blush to mention; it is the right of the vanquished; the right of regaining our Freedom, whenever we are able to throw off your yoke. If you say, as I trust you will, that we are a Free People; you must allow us those rights which are indispensably necessary to the very existence of Freedom; and if on enquiry it should be found that Ireland has not such rights, because Great Britain has exerted an arbitrary power to which she was not entitled, Great Britain must either relinquish such an evasion of our rights, or support it, as she made it—  
**BY POWER.**

“What, my Lord, constitutes the freedom of a people? What is the boasted freedom of a subject of Great Britain? Is it not, that he is governed by laws to which he has assented either by himself

or his representative? Is it not that he cannot be bound by laws that do not affect those who make them as well as himself? What, my Lord, is the definition of a slave? Is it not where a man is bound by laws, to which he never assented, and lies at the mercy of a power over which he has no controul? Weigh these two definitions, and tell me what is IRELAND?

“Great Britain’s repealing part of those laws by which I apprehend she has unjustly bound Ireland, is no satisfaction, nor are we less enslaved. In fact, your propositions, and the law founded upon them, establishes that power which I, and I believe my countrymen deny. The word expedient conveys a thousand things repugnant to the rights of Ireland. It may hereafter be deemed expedient to revoke the very indulgences you now find it expedient to grant. It may be expedient to dissolve our parliament, and never call another; it may be expedient to tax Ireland

Ireland by a British act of parliament, and enforce it by a British armament; where shall we set bounds to expediency, and how can its limits be ascertained? But, my Lord, I will venture to assert, and I now call on your Lordship to refute it if you can, that IRELAND is not FREE, whilst England has the power of binding Ireland by British acts of parliament. I will venture to assert, we are not less slaves, though British legislation never found it expedient to exert the power it claims; the most absolute Monarch on Earth may make his subjects happy, but whilst he has the means of making them miserable, they are not, they cannot be FREE.

“ The Irish for a long time remained in ignorance as to their situation; those amongst them who perceived it, thought it would be cruel to shew them rights, without a possibility of their obtaining them. Particular circumstances have led them to particular enquiries. Enquiry



has made them acquainted with their situation; and it is, my Lord, the characteristic of my countrymen to be impatient under their wrongs, which they feel and understand.

“ I do not deceive you when I say, that this reasoning is very general amongst Irishmen. I do not deceive you when I say, we are attached to England, and seek a connexion with her, in preference to the rest of mankind. But, my Lord, our first attachment is to FREEDOM, and every other is a secondary consideration. To be in possession of Freedom, we must know what is our right: As to favours, we ought, and I am persuaded are willing to give an equivalent. But, my Lord, we wish to have the line between rights and favours ascertained; the blending them together, if possible, we are determined to avoid.

“ My Lord, we conceive that we are a free people, and as such entitled to a  
free



free trade. We admit your right to shut your ports against us, but we claim a similar power as to you. If we are as FREE as England this must be the case; if we are not, we are surely entitled to the reasons why we are not so. — We surely have a right to know why we are excluded from the undoubted privileges of a FREE PEOPLE. Can your Lordship blame us if we deem it necessary to know how we stand in point of right, in regard to Great Britain? We cannot build on a sure foundation, or expect a lasting fabrick, till this is ascertained.

“Your Lordship says the Irish Parliament is to do certain things, in consequence of English resolutions. — How my Lord, can this be? How can England treat with Ireland, until the English Parliament relinquishes her claim of binding Ireland in all cases whatsoever? Is it not, my Lord, absurd? Is it not a contradiction in terms, that an English Parliament should enter into a treaty

a treaty with an Irish, if an Irish Parliament is to be subject to the will of an English; and if an English act can bind Ireland in all cases whatsoever.

“ I am aware it will be said, that this overture from an English to an Irish Parliament, tacitly admits that an English Parliament has not a right to bind Ireland. WHY TACITLY? If England means to give up this claim, why not openly? The doing so would give confidence here. If on the other hand it should be meant to deceive, to mislead by the natural idea that must arise from the one Parliament treating with the other, I will not hesitate in proclaiming it A MEAN SUBTERFUGE—a low CUNNING——unworthy of A MAN——unworthy of A NATION.

“ In consequence of your Lordship's propositions, I will suppose wealth pouring into this kingdom from every quarter. Here, my Lord, I will again ask a question:

on : What security have we for wealth so acquired? If you have a right to bind us in all cases whatsoever, you must have a right to tax us. If you have a right to tax us one shilling, you have a right to twenty in the pound ; and had we the wealth of the Indies, whilst you claim that power, and have force to execute it, we are but a treasury, filled for the use of Great Britain. In absolute governments, wealth and danger go hand in hand, and poverty is happiness. If individuals grow rich they dare not enjoy their wealth, and are careful to conceal it. Their lives are often forfeited for supposed offences, to give a colour to the seizing of their acquisitions. The same reasoning will hold in this instance. If, whilst poor, you claim absolute power over us, by what chain of reasoning are we to suppose you will relinquish it, should we become rich? It makes no difference that this power is vested in the legislature of Great Britain, and not in a single hand. Absolute power in one or  
in

in many is the same. Its effect is equally destructive to the happiness of a state or individual.

“I have frequently observed, my Lord, when the subject of Irish rights has been broached, that the distressed situation of England has been introduced; that England has been represented as a nation sunk in debt, and overwhelmed with difficulties. If it be so, I am, and I am persuaded my countrymen are sorry for it. But, my Lord, as an Irishman, I cannot conceive that I am to be a slave, because England has been imprudent or unfortunate. I cannot conceive if England was sinking, that Ireland is bound in any way, to go to the bottom with England. We are called sister kingdoms, but if we were married, there is but one country \* that I have heard of, where the wife sacrifices herself on the funeral pile of the husband,

\* A country in Asia, where the bodies of the dead are burned, and the wife is placed on the funeral pile of the husband.



husband, and I trust Ireland is not inclined to follow so singular an example.

“Be the situation of England what it may, what has Ireland to say to it? Have we ever exposed you to war? Have we encreased your taxes? Have we been the cause of a single misfortune? If your fleets have protected us, who occasioned our wanting that protection? Have we not contributed both with our blood and treasure in support of your quarrels, without sharing in your conquests? Are we not indebted, from our connexion with you, beyond our ability to pay?

“My Lord, I will go so far as to say, if the ruin of England was to follow justice to Ireland, yet still we are entitled to that justice. The question must still resort to first principles, and Irishmen cannot, ought not to have a confidence in Great Britain, till those principles are fully ascertained.

“It

“It is said, my Lord, that we have long acquiesced under this claim. For argument sake I will grant it. England herself has been obliged in particular times to submit to the most severe exertions of arbitrary power, but it has been the most distinguished feature in the character of your countrymen, to watch for and seize the moment in which they had the prospect of regaining their freedom. Witness your Barons compelling the infamous John to grant them Magna Charta. Witness the decapitation of the misinformed and unfortunate Charles. And witness the glorious Revolution, by which the present king of England—of Ireland, is intitled to his crown. Will your Lordship then, or your countrymen, be so unjust as to say, we ought to acquiesce in a claim, because we have not hitherto had power to oppose it. Will you assert if at first the claim was unjust, it has changed its nature from the inattention or impotence of Ireland?

“ Strange

“ Strange arguments, however, sometimes suggest themselves. I have heard it argued, my Lord, that the King of Ireland, residing in Great Britain, gives a right to supremacy there. To this there is a short and conclusive question; one, my Lord, that I borrow from the elegant and well-informed Guatimozin—Had the King of Great Britain been in reality, what he is nominally, King of France; had he held his court at Paris; would Great Britain have allowed the King of Great Britain, in conjunction with the parliaments of France, to bind them in all cases whatsoever? Apply this, my Lord, to the subject of this letter, and answer the question as you please.

“ In all connexions between free kingdoms advantages must be reciprocal. It must be the interest of both to preserve the connexion; or that kingdom who finds herself hurt by the alliance, will infallibly quit it the moment it is in her power. Interest is the grand spring of  
action

action even amongst men, though a few individuals may gloriously deviate from it ; but between nations it is, it must be the ruling principle.

“ My Lord, it is my wish, and I hope and believe it is the wish of every good man in this kingdom, to form an alliance with Great Britain, which nothing can disturb. I conceive this can only be done by a fair and candid enquiry into the natural rights of each kingdom. If Great Britain treats with Ireland under the idea of giving as little as she can, and that little from necessity, Ireland can neither be thankful nor satisfied. You yourselves will say that Ireland, from particular situation, has got more than you intended for her ; and when that situation ceases, you will naturally endeavour to recal what you have so granted.—On the other hand, Ireland looking for an establishment of rights, cannot conceive herself obliged by what is given from expediency. Whilst the great question of right



right remains unascertained, mutual jealousies and distrusts must affect the peace of both kingdoms. Irishmen cannot seriously wish the prosperity of a country which they conceive to be oppressing them; and England cannot be cordially our well-wisher, whilst she considers us as a people she has wronged; as a people she must suppose anxious for an opportunity of procuring justice.

“It may be said, that finding fault is easy, but that it will be difficult to point out a mode of relief more satisfactory than the one your Lordship has adopted; I shall, therefore, in a few words, lay down what I believe would be satisfactory to my countrymen; what I know would be satisfactory to my countrymen; what I know would be satisfactory to myself.

“Let England declare she has no right to bind Ireland by British acts of parliament, and entirely repeal all laws hitherto made for that purpose. It has been my endeavour

your

vour to prove that England in doing this, would only do justice;—suppose it done, Ireland would have a right to trade with all the world—but all the world would also have a right of choosing upon what terms, and in what instances, they would enter into commercial alliances with Ireland; Great Britain of course would have a right to say, you shall not trade with us, but on such conditions as we shall think proper to require. The Colonies would have the same right; and at this moment Ireland would have less than what your propositions, and the law founded, and to be founded on them, would give us; but then, my Lord, the matter of right would be adjusted; whatever wealth we acquired would be the wealth of Freemen, and could not be taken from us but by our own legislature; then that frightful spirit raised in the reign of Geo. 1st. would be laid, and the fears and apprehensions of Irishmen, with the Ghost, would vanish\*.

If,

\* The law declaring a right to bind Ireland in all cases whatsoever.

“ If, my Lord, we are admitted to trade with Great Britain and her Colonies, I, as an Irishman, think we should make a suitable return. If your fleets protect us, protect our trade, I think we ought in proportion to that protection, in proportion to that trade, contribute to their support.—These, my Lord, in my humble apprehension, ought to be the subjects of treaty between the two legislatures; then rights and favours would be distinct; a distinction which must give universal satisfaction here. If Great Britain really means to give us a PERMANENT FREE TRADE, what can be her objection to being fully explicit. My Lord, the consequence would be, that industry would diffuse her blessings over this heretofore devoted land; then, my Lord, the merchant would plow the ocean, and the farmer his land with satisfaction and security; then Ireland would become the chearful and powerful supporter of Great Britain.

D

My

“My Lord, I cannot expect you will take either my word or opinion for the sentiments of my countrymen ; but, my Lord, it is surely worth your Lordship’s attention to enquire how far I am right in my opinion ; if by that enquiry, you find that the people of Ireland, almost to a man, deny the right in a British parliament to bind them ; if you find that they acknowledge no power on earth but their King, Lords, and Commons ; and will not, if they can help it, pay obedience to the laws of any other ; I submit it to your Lordship, whether it would be wise in the British legislature to voluntarily declare the Stat. 6th Geo. 1st. c. 5. no longer in force, so far as relates to Ireland, and that it was made on the mistaken idea, that England had a right to bind Ireland. This, my Lord, would heal every dissention, would banish every jealous idea from our minds.

“Many other things relative to Ireland croud upon my imagination, but as they are in general things that ought to be  
looked



looked to at home, and as I wish to confine myself to the one Great Question, I shall not longer intrude on your Lordship.

“ In the course of this letter I have endeavoured to steer clear of the least offence to your Lordship. I have endeavoured to argue without passion or prejudice, and I trust I have in some degree succeeded.

“ I feel the fullest conviction, that an explanation of the matter of Right is essential to the welfare and prosperity of both kingdoms, and it is from that conviction I have thus ventured to address your Lordship.

I am, with great respect,

Your Lordship's

Most humble servant,

1<sup>st</sup> Jan.

1780.

FRANCIS DOBBS.”

An expedient Free Trade, and the fallacy of it, was soon understood. The plain and simple doctrine, that we could not be free, if any power on earth could make laws to bind us, save our King, Lords, and Commons, quickly prevailed. This became the sentiment of almost every man. It could not be openly but it was insidiously attacked. These attacks raised many powerful advocates for Irish Liberty. The public mind became enlightened, and it was in vain, that the supporters of Administration, pressed them to attend to their Free Trade, and relinquish their freedom.

With their information, the power of the people, was also encreasing. A variety of causes all tended to add to Volunteers.

The gentlemen who had hitherto taken the most active part, were mostly of what is called the Country Party.—Government not able to suppress, wished

ed its supporters also Volunteers. On this principle many new corps were raised, differing much in political sentiment, but who were to become equally useful to their country.

Another cause operated strongly: It became highly fashionable. Volunteer rank was an object of ambition, and it was considered as the most glorious distinction of a gentleman, to be at the head of a well appointed corps.

Among the lower orders of men, the smartness of those who had enrolled themselves, became an object of envy and emulation. The idea of glory, which attended it, also had its weight, and every able young man felt ashamed, that he was not amongst the guardians of his country.

The Fair, also, materially served the Volunteer cause. Countrymen from being slovenly in their dress, and awkward

in their manners, became neat in their persons, and comparatively polished and refined. They were also to be the protectors of their mistresses, and obtained from the softer sex in return, an envied precedence.—In short, these various causes operated so powerfully, that almost every man who could, became a Volunteer.

But the Volunteers, though powerful, had no fixed object—no bond of union—no communication.—Detached in separate companies, they as yet wanted that connexion, which alone could make them truly beneficial.

In the beginning of 1780, reviews for the Summer were appointed. Exercising Officers and Reviewing Generals were chosen, and thus the foundation of union was laid.

The Volunteers now strongly marked their political opinions, by those whom they



they called to fill these exalted stations. Among the Reviewing Generals Lord Charlemont was particularly distinguished; his private virtues, and his uniform public conduct, justly raised him to the highest honors his grateful country could bestow,

In April, 1780, the great truth, of not being bound by foreign legislation, was fully understood and received by the people; but Government and Parliament were inimical to the declaration. Mr. Grattan, that illustrious patriot, on the 19th of this month, after one of the most forcible and animated speeches, that ever distinguished a man, or astonished an admiring, though venal Senate, moved, that the House should resolve, and enter on its Journals, "That no power on earth, save the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for us." After a most interesting debate, in which every man but one acknowledged its truth, either expressly,  
or

or by silence, it was obvious that Mr. Grattan would not succeed, on a division. That great and able senator, Mr. Flood, pointed out, what was certainly better than such a division: That no question should be put, and no appearance of the business entered on the Journals of the House. Mr. Grattan consented, and thus, this business ended.

All, however, was tending towards a great event; even such declarations from the members had their use. It was thought very extraordinary, that as individuals they should avow, what they would not assert in their collective capacity—the people drew their own conclusions.

Such root had that great principle of no Foreign Legislation, now taken, that the Irish army could not be governed, because it was under an English law. Mr. Bushe introduced an Irish Mutiny Bill, and it was transmitted to England,

but

but when returned, there was found in it, a clause making it perpetual, and in this shape it became a law. This unconstitutional clause has been so ably handled, in a pamphlet ascribed to Mr. Grattan, that I have nothing to add.

A modification of the law of Poynings was in vain attempted by Mr. Yelverton, and Mr. Forbes's bill for the independence of the Judges, was equally ineffectual.

Thus ended a Session, that had vainly promised in its opening the brightest prospects to our country, and the disappointed people felt, and expressed their resentment.

At many of the different reviews, which now took place, the Volunteers expressed their political sentiments, and freely condemned the conduct of Parliament. They were however far from being unanimous. The time was not yet

yet come when all were to be united, and thereby to become invincible.

It was Lord Buckinghamshire's fate to be disapproved of by the ministers of England, as well as to have the people here dissatisfied. The power of Volunteers was beginning to make the British administration tremble, and Lord Buckinghamshire was condemned, for what it was not in his power to prevent. He was recalled, and Lord Carlisle appointed in his stead.

From a letter written by Mr. Eden, the Secretary, to Lord Carlisle, on the subject of Irish Affairs, and which had been answered by Counsellor Richard Sheridan, we had no great reason to rejoice in this change.

The Reviews in 1780, had pointed out the utility of forming regiments :—It was clearly perceived that companies acting seperately could never attain military perfection,



perfection.—Reviews were in the Spring of 1781 again fixed on, and in Summer when they respectively came, the number of separate and distinct companies were very inconsiderable.

The improved state of Volunteers was obvious to every eye :—The Reviews were every where more numerous, more military and more splendid :—At Belfast, which in 1780 was the largest, their numbers in 1781, were nearly double—5383 men then appeared there, with a train of thirteen Field Pieces; the other Reviews had equally increased and improved, and the Volunteers were deservedly the admiration of the world.

The inhabitants of the different places where they were reviewed, behaved with astonishing hospitality; and entertained at an amazing expence their Glorious Countrymen.

Lord Charlemont was again particularly distinguished among the Reviewing  
Generals,

Generals, and reviewed a very considerable part of the Volunteer army.

The Addresses and Resolutions after the Reviews in 1781, were greatly diversified—Some contained Politics, and spoke the boldest truths; whilst others avoided all political discussion,—but almost every man felt that Ireland was not Free.

In this situation in the Winter of 1781, Lord Carlisle met the Irish Parliament,—a Parliament, I believe, more venal, than ever sat before it :—Those who conducted public business, thought only of numbers, and how to secure a majority in the Senate—corruption on system took place, and certain obedience waited on the nod of the Minister;—but, however this might suit a nation that had no military power, but was immediately under the controul of Government, it was ill calculated, for the then state of Ireland. The people had power—had arms—and knew their use ;—one would think it required  
but

but little foresight, to perceive that a corrupt Parliament might irritate, but could not, thus situated, controul the wishes of their constituents.

Administration however thought otherwise,—every thing was carried with a high hand:—The just demands of the people were treated with scorn and contempt. In vain did the friends of their country contend for a repeal of the unconstitutional perpetual clause in the Mutiny Bill:—In vain was the Modification of the Law of Poynings' fought for,—and in vain did the people require the rights of the Nation,—every Patriotic attempt was defeated, and the power of mercenary numbers, tho' they could not constitute right—suppressed it.

This conduct of Administration and its creatures, though at first sight inimical, was in reality the greatest blessing to this injured Country.—It was happy for Ireland that all her wishes, and every just demand was frustrated:—Had Administration

stration temporized, and granted a little, it would have divided, and thereby destroyed the power of the People; but the contrary conduct had the contrary effect, and the People beheld their Parliament with indignation:—They saw those who presumed to call themselves their Representatives, totally disregard their voice, and in every instance betray them.

In this situation the Officers of the Southern Battalion of Lord Charlemont's Armagh Regiment, met, and came to the following Resolutions:

**"FIRST ULSTER REGIMENT,**  
*commanded by the Earl of CHARLEMONT.*

"AT a full Meeting held at Armagh, on Friday the 28th day of December, 1781, of the Officers and Delegates of the Southern Battalion of said Regiment, consisting of eleven Companies, pursuant to adjournment,

FRANCIS EVANS, Esq. in the Chair.

The



“ The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be printed in all the Newspapers published within the province of Ulster, and in the Volunteer Journal of the City of Dublin.

“ Resolved, That with the utmost concern, we behold the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of this kingdom, by the majority of those whose duty it is to establish and preserve the same.

“ Resolved, That to avert the impending danger from the nation, and to restore the constitution to its original purity, the most vigorous and effectual methods must be pursued, to root Corruption and Court Influence from the Legislative Body.

“ Resolved, That to open a path towards the attaining of this desirable point, it is absolutely requisite that a meeting be held in the most central town of the province of Ulster, which we conceive to be

be Dungannon, to which said meeting every Volunteer Association of said Province is most earnestly requested to send Delegates, then and there to deliberate on the present alarming situation of public affairs, and to determine on and publish to their Country what may be the result of said meeting.

“ Resolved, That as many real and lasting advantages may arise to this kingdom, from said intended meeting being held before the present Session of Parliament is much farther advanced, Friday the 15th day of February next, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, is hereby appointed for said meeting, at Dungannon, as aforesaid.

“ Resolved, That as at said meeting, it is highly probable the idea of forming Brigades, will be agitated and considered, the several corps of Volunteers who send Delegates to said meeting, are requested  
to

to vest in them a power to associate with some one of such Brigades as may be then formed. —

**FRANCIS EVANS, Chairman.**

The meeting held in consequence of this requisition, being one of the most important transactions in the annals of Ireland—of Europe—of the World—deserves to be minutely and faithfully recorded.

As soon as this bold and spirited call appeared, the Castle took the alarm—Captain Evans was the ostensible man, but to take him up might bring things to immediate extremities; to take no notice of it might also be dangerous:—A middle course was determined on, and every possible means was used to suppress the meeting:—The words of the requisition were animadverted on, and many, even of the best friends of their Country, wished no meeting had been called.

As the important 15th of February, 1782, approached, doubt and anxiety appeared in every countenance ;—men of every description were deeply concerned in the event ; and perhaps there never was a period more critical to a Nation.

We had an Administration that had treated every demand with scorn, and refused us every right. A Parliament, leagued with that Administration against its Country ;—The people widely differing as to what ought to be done,---fixed to no one object,---arms in their hands---and no chain of correspondence, by which they could be consulted.

If the meeting should prove small and insignificant, the cause would appear relinquished and deserted ; if numerous and respectable, yet nothing done, the object of it would be defeated ; if not unanimous or nearly so, a civil commotion might, and probably would ensue : Let the Province of Ulster determine on what



it might, unless the determination was such, as would meet the approbation of the other Provinces, we were undone.—Unanimity among Volunteers could alone give efficacy to their resolves; and thus circumstanced, without a miracle, it was scarcely to be even hoped for.

I must here, from the particular situation in which I stood, introduce myself:—The Southern Battalion of Armagh, of which I was Major, had called the meeting; I had pledged myself to attend it—and it was expected that I, in their name, should open the business of the day:—I saw the critical situation to which things were brought; I saw also how peculiarly I, as an individual, was circumstanced, and felt an anxiety I never before experienced.

Thus situated, I determined to avail myself of my connexion with Lord Charlemont, as my Colonel, and also of that communication of sentiment, with

which he had often honor'd me ; I waited on his Lordship, and found him, as I have ever done, zealous in the cause of his Country : He saw the importance of the hour in its full extent, and appointed a meeting to consult on it, at which Mr. Flood, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Stewart, (Member for Tyrone) his Lordship and I, attended.

The result of this meeting was, that I should move, what now stands the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th resolutions ;—and also that I should endeavour to get Committees of Correspondence appointed.—The 1st resolution was afterwards drawn up by Captain Joseph Pollock, Barrister, and me. The resolution as to Portugal, was drawn up and moved by Mr. Robert Thompson. And that glorious and liberal resolution towards our brethern the Roman Catholics, was drawn up and moved by Captain Pollock. For the honor of the established and dissenting clergy, it was particularly supported by  
those

those present, the Rev. Captain Black, and the Rev. Mr. Crawford of the Dissenting Church, and the Rev. Captain Hervey, of the Establishment. The Address to the Minority was drawn up and moved by me, with the other resolutions. The whole is worth recording.—

### “ULSTER VOLUNTEERS.

*“At a Meeting of the Representatives of One Hundred and Forty Three Corps of Volunteers of the Province of Ulster, held at Dungannon, on Friday the 15th day of February, 1782.*

Colonel WILLIAM IRVINE, in the Chair,

“Whereas it has been asserted that Volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate or publish their opinions, on political subjects, or on the conduct of Parliament, or public men,

“Resolved unanimously, That a citizen

by learning the use of arms, does not abandon any of his civil rights.

“ Resolved unanimously, That a claim of any body of men other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

“ Resolved (with one dissenting voice only), That the powers exercised by the Privy Council of both kingdoms, under, or under colour, or pretence of, the law of Poyning's, are unconstitutional, and a grievance.

“ Resolved unanimously, That the ports of this country, are by right open to all foreign countries, not at war with the King, and that any burthen thereupon or obstruction thereto, save only by the Parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

“ Resolved (with one dissenting voice only), That a Mutiny Bill not limited in point



point of duration from Session to Session, is unconstitutional and a grievance.

“ Resolved unanimously, That the independence of Judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction, where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is in itself, unconstitutional and a grievance.

“ Resolved (with eleven dissenting voices only), That it is our decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances, and we pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, as freeholders, fellow citizens, and men of honour, that we will at every ensuing election, support those only who have supported, and will support us therein, and that we will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

“ Resolved

“ Resolved (with one dissenting voice only), That the Right Hon. and Hon. the Minority in Parliament, who have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to our most grateful thanks, and that the annexed address be signed by the Chairman and published with these Resolutions.

“ Resolved unanimously, That four members from each county of the Province of Ulster, (eleven to be a quorum) be, and are hereby appointed a Committee till next General Meeting, to act for the Volunteer Corps here represented, and, as occasion shall require, to call General meetings of the Province, viz.

“ Lord Viscount Enniskillen, Col. Mer-  
 vyne Archdall, Col. William Irvine, Col.  
 Robert M’Clintock, Col. John Ferguson,  
 Col. John Montgomery, Col. Charles  
 Leslie, Col. Francis Lucas, Col. Thomas  
 Morris Jones, Col. James Hamilton, Col.  
 Andrew

Andrew Thompson, Lieut. Col. Charles Nesbitt, Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart, Major James Patterson, Major Francis Dobbs, Major James M'Clintock, Major Charles Duffin, Captain John Harvey, Capt. Robert Campbell, Capt. Joseph Pollock, Capt. Waddell Cunningham, Capt. Francis Evans, Capt. John Cope, Capt. James Dawson, Capt. James Acheson, Capt. Daniel Eccles, Capt. Thomas Dixon, Capt. David Bell, Capt. John Coulston, Capt. Robert Black, the Rev. William Crawford, Mr. Robert Thompson.

“ Resolved unanimously, That said Committee do appoint nine of their members to be a Committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other Volunteer Associations in the other Provinces, as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.

“ In

“ In consequence of the above Resolution, the Committee have appointed the following gentlemen for said Committee, three to be a quorum, viz.

“ Col. Mervyn Archdall, Col. William Irvine, Col. John Montgomery, Col. Thomas Morris Jones, Major Francis Dobbs, Capt. Francis Evans, Capt. James Dawson, Capt. Joseph Pollock, Mr. Robert Thompson.

“ Resolved unanimously, That the Committee be, and are hereby instructed to call a General meeting of the Province, within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after the dissolution of the present Parliament, should such an event sooner take place.

“ Resolved unanimously, that the court of Portugal have acted towards this Kingdom, (being a part of the British Empire) in such a manner as to call upon us to declare, and pledge ourselves to each other,



other, that we will not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal, and that we will to the extent of our influence prevent the use of said wine, save and except the wine at present in this Kingdom, until such time as our exports shall be received in the Kingdom of Portugal, as the manufactures of part of the British Empire.

“ Resolved (with two dissenting voices only to this and the following resolution) that we hold the right of private judgment in matters of Religion, to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves.

“ Resolved therefore, That as men, and as Irishmen, as Christians, and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the Penal Laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

“ Resolved

“ Resolved unanimously, That the Dundalk Independent Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by Capt. Thomas Reed, having joined a Regiment of this Province, (the first Newry Regiment, or Newry Legion) and petitioning to be received as part of this body and under its protection, is accordingly hereby received.

“ Whereas a letter has been received by the Chairman of this Meeting from the united Corps of the county of Cavan, Col. Ennery in the Chair, declaring their readiness to co-operate with their brother Volunteers in every constitutional support of their rights.

“ Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to the said united Corps of the said county of Cavan, for their spirited Resolution, and that a copy of the proceedings of this Meeting be enclosed by the Chairman to Col. Ennery, to be by him communicated to

to the said united Corps, and that they shall have a right, if they chuse to associate with the Corps represented at this Meeting, to nominate four members to act with those already appointed, as a Committee by the Delegates at this Meeting.

“ Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to Capt. Richardson, and the Dungannon Light Company, for their politeness in mounting guard this day.

“ Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Southern Battalion of the first Ulster Regiment, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont, for that patriotic zeal, which we are convinced, induced them to call this Meeting.

“ Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to Col. William Irvine, for his particular  
propriety

propriety and politeness of conduct in the Chair.

“ Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to Capt. James Dawson, for his readiness in undertaking the office of Secretary to this Meeting, and for his particular attention and ability, in the laborious duty thereof.

“ Resolved unanimously, That these Resolutions be published.

“ To the Right Hon. and Hon. the MINORITY in both Houses of Parliament.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ We thank you for your noble and spirited, tho’ hitherto ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country——go on——the almost unanimous voice of the people is with you—and in a free country,



country, the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our Sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be Free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights, and, in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the Being of a Providence, if we doubted of success.

Signed by Order,

WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.

IN COMMITTEE.

“ Resolved unanimously, That the Corps of this Province, not represented at the Meeting held this day, be and they are hereby invited to join in the Resolutions of said Meeting, and to become members of the said Association on the most equal footing.

“ Resolved unanimously, That such Corps as may chuse to join the said Association, be and they are hereby requested to communicate their intentions to our

Secretary,

Secretary, Capt. Dawson, Union Lodge, Loughbrickland, who will lay the same before the Chairman and Committee.

**WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman."**

Thus ended the business of that ever-memorable day. The place we met in was the Church, and I trust our proceedings did not pollute it. The evening was dedicated to conviviality, and its innocent festivity gave a presentiment of those glorious consequences which were to ensue.

An account of what was done soon reached Dublin,—the friends of their Country rejoiced at the temper and firmness of our proceedings:—Our enemies were disappointed in every expectation; none of that violence appeared, which distinguishes Faction from real Public Spirit:—They were astonished and confounded with that noble Benevolence and Toleration, which must at once convince the Roman Catholics, that the sup-  
posed

posed hatred of the Protestants of the North, existed only in the brains of shallow Politicians.—To divide and conquer was the policy of Administration:—The policy of Dungannon, was to unite and be victorious.

Mr. Grattan again brought forward in the Senate that important truth,—That the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, were alone competent to make laws for us,—and moved an Address to his Majesty to that effect—He was equal to himself—but all the powers of reason and oratory could not convince men who were predetermined—he was not argued with, for argument they had none—but Government had numbers, and again employed them.

The Dungannon Resolutions now made their public appearance—they were admired, even by their enemies:—truth is plain and simple, and carries conviction along with it.—The Volunteers from

F

every

every quarter paid their tribute of applause, and erected these Resolutions as the Standard to which all repaired :— From East, West, North and South, they were re-echoed.—The sacred fire of Patriotism now blazed in all its glory,—its generous flame was raised to purify, but not destroy—no intemperate act disgraced us—we preserved a calm and manly perseverance :—Committees of Correspondence were formed, and the National Committee crowned the business.

Here then the system was compleat—that which had been often wished for, but scarcely thought practicable took place ;—those who were lately quite detached, with no fixed purpose, no chain of correspondence, no power that could obtain co-operation, in a few weeks became one Body, animated by one soul, and directed to one settled purpose :—The National Committee could receive from the Provincial Committees, the sentiments of the Volunteers of every Province, and  
all



all was brought to move in order---like the rays of the Sun, they might indeed before give light and heat, though scattered; but like the rays of the Sun, when collected, they became irresistible.

It was easily seen that the voice of an armed, and now an united People, must be heard:—A prostituted Parliament could no longer support the Government that had seduced it.—The Volunteers of Ireland were now to redeem their native Land, and in the self same moment to promote the welfare of their once haughty and unjust, but now their humbled sister.

At this critical period, the intelligence of the defeat and capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army, reached England;—the affairs in the East Indies wore the most dismal aspect;—the power of the Dutch was added to that of the enemies of England; and our fleets and armies were every where inferior and inadequate

to their purpose;—America was lost;—and to compleat all, Ireland determined to be Free;—the Minister of England could no longer bear up against such complicated misfortunes—he was drove from the helm, and with his, the Irish Administration also perished.

Men and measures were now to be changed :---That Great and Respectable Man, (who is, alas! no more) the Marquis of Rockingham, became Prime Minister : He saw that the just demands of the Irish ought, and therefore he determined they should, be instantly attended to :---He knew, that injustice and wisdom never dwelt together.

The Duke of Portland was appointed Viceroy, and the descendant of that Bentinck who was the friend and companion of the Glorious William, was, like the Sovereign of his Ancestor, deputed to give Freedom :---As if the legendary tale of St. Partrick banishing all venom from the

the land, was true,---a Fitzpatrick was to be the Secretary to this glorious embassy.

We were now to hear the voice of a real Vicegerent;---a message was delivered to Parliament, in the following words:

### “ P O R T L A N D .

“I have it in command from his Majesty, to inform this House, that his Majesty being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects of this country, upon matters of great weight and importance, his Majesty recommends to this House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.”

No little paltry concessions were offered, but we were at once desired to state our demands:---Mr. Grattan rose, and

explained what he thought the rights of his country : the House were unanimously of the same opinion ; and the following Resolution, expressing all our wishes, was sent to the common sovereign of both kingdoms :—A similar one was moved by Lord Westmeath in the Lords, and carried also unanimously.

“ Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious Message to this House, signified by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant. To assure his Majesty of our unshaken attachment to his Majesty's person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care, in thus taking the lead to administer content to his Majesty's subjects of Ireland. That, thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his Majesty the causes of our discontents and jealousies. To assure his Majesty that his subjects of Ireland are  
a Free



a Free People. That the Crown of Ireland is an imperial Crown, inseparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain, on which connexion the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend: But that the Kingdom of Ireland is a distinct Kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the sole Legislature thereof. That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power, of any sort whatsoever, in this country, save only the Parliament of Ireland. To assure his Majesty that we humbly conceive, that in this right the very essence of our liberties exists; a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birth-right, and which we cannot yield but with our lives. To assure his Majesty that we have seen, with concern, certain claims advanced by the Parliament of Great Britain in an act, intitled an act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland;

Ireland ; an act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation.

“ That we conceive this Act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom. To assure his Majesty that his Majesty's Commons of Ireland do most sincerely wish that all Bills, which become law in Ireland, should receive the approbation of his Majesty, under the Seal of Great Britain; but that yet we do consider the practice of suppressing our Bills in the Council of Ireland, or altering the same any where, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy. To assure his Majesty, that an act, intitled an act for the better accommodation of his Majesty's forces, being unlimited in duration, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape from the particular circumstances of the times, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom. That we

have submitted these, the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress. That we have the greatest reliance on his Majesty's wisdom, the most sanguine expectations from his virtuous choice of a Chief Governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious, and constitutional Councils, which we see with satisfaction his Majesty has adopted. That we have moreover a high sense and veneration for the British character, and do therefore conceive that the proceedings of this country, founded as they were in right, and tempered by duty, must have excited the approbation and esteem, instead of wounding the pride of the British nation. And we beg leave to assure his Majesty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, in as much as the people of this kingdom have never expressed a desire to share the freedom of England, without declaring a determination to share her fate--likewise, standing and falling with the British nation."

Thus

Thus, in a few days after the arrival of the Duke of Portland---that very Parliament, which had uniformly opposed every wish of the people, now sent their demands to the throne:---The people rejoiced in their prospect of emancipation, but they did not, for they could not, thank their Parliament.

Here was an awful pause.---What the Parliament of England would do, we might conjecture, not determine:---The Volunteers rested on their arms,---doubtful whether they were to be used in defence of their just rights, or in proclaiming their joy for Liberty restored.

During this pause no man doubted, but compliance on the part of England would be fully satisfactory:---When the news that the English House of Commons unanimously, and the Lords, with one dissentient only, had voted acquiescence,---all was rapture---all was joy.

The



The Duke of Portland went to the House of Lords, to announce the glad tidings,—surrounding multitudes blessed him as he passed, and every face expressed the grateful feelings of their hearts :—When from the throne he spoke, he seemed inspired by the genius of our Isle, and in the language of Freedom, declared her shackles were no more.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It gives me the greatest satisfaction, that the first time I have occasion to address you, I find myself enabled by the magnanimity of the King, and the wisdom of the Parliament of Great Britain, to assure you that immediate attention has been paid to your representations, and that the British Legislature has concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of your discontents and jealousies, and are united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in your late Addresses to the Throne.

“ If

“ If any thing could add to the pleasure I feel in giving you these assurances, it is, that I can accompany them with my congratulations on the important and decisive victory gained by his Majesty's fleet over that of our common enemy in the West Indies, and on the signal advantage obtained by his Majesty's arms in the Island of Ceylon, on the Coast of Coromandel.

“ By the papers, which, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, I have directed to be laid before you, you will receive the most convincing testimony of the cordial reception which your representations have met with from the Legislature of Great Britain; but his Majesty, whose first and most anxious wish is to exercise his royal prerogative in such a manner as may be most conducive to the welfare of all his faithful subjects, has further given it me in command, to assure you of his gracious disposition, to give his royal assent to acts to prevent the suppression

pression of Bills in the Privy Council of this Kingdom, and to limit the duration of the Act for the better regulation and accommodation of his Majesty's forces in this kingdom to the term of two years.

“ These benevolent intentions of his Majesty, and the willingness of his Parliament of Great Britain to second his gracious purposes, are unaccompanied by any stipulation or condition whatever. The good faith, the generosity, the honour of this nation, afford them the surest pledge of a corresponding disposition on your part, to promote and perpetuate the harmony, the stability, and the glory of the empire.

“ On my own part, I entertain not the least doubt, but that the same spirit which urged you to share the freedom of Great Britain, will confirm you in your determination

determination to share her fate alfo—  
 ftanding and falling with the British  
 Nation.”

When the Commons returned to their  
 Houfe, Mr. Grattan moved an Addrefs  
 to his Majefty, and in it was this claufe :  
 “ Gratified in thofe particulars, we do  
 affure your Majefty, that no conftitu-  
 tional queftion between the two Na-  
 tions will any longer exift, which can  
 interrupt their harmony.”

This produced a debate, but on a divi-  
 fion, there were only two Members  
 againft it:—The Addrefs was then car-  
 ried, and ordered to the Lord Lieutenant  
 for tranfmiffal:—A fimilar one paffed  
 the Lords.

“ To



“ To the KING’s most Excellent Majesty,

“ The humble Address of the Knights,  
Citizens and Burgeſſes, in Parliament  
aſſembled.

“ *Moſt gracious Sovereign,*

“ WE, your Maſteſty’s moſt dutiful and  
loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland  
in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave to aſ-  
ſure your Maſteſty of our unfeigned af-  
fection to your royal perſon and govern-  
ment; and that we feel moſt ſenſibly the  
attention which our representations have  
received from the magnanimity of your  
Maſteſty, and the wiſdom of the Parlia-  
ment of Great Britain.

“ We aſſure your Maſteſty, that we  
conceive the reſolution for an unqualified,  
unconditional repeal of the 6th of George  
I. to be a meaſure of conſummate wiſ-  
dom and juſtice, ſuitable to the dignity  
and eminence of both Nations, exalting  
the

the character of both, and furnishing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity.

“ We assure your Majesty, that we are sensibly affected by your virtuous determination to accede to the wishes of your faithful people, and to exercise your royal prerogative in a manner most conducive to their welfare; and accordingly we shall immediately prepare bills to carry into execution the desires of your Majesty’s people, and your own most benevolent purposes.

“ Gratified in those particulars, we do assure your Majesty, that no constitutional question between the two Nations will any longer exist, which can interrupt their harmony; and that Great Britain, as she has approved of our firmness, so may she rely on our affection.

“ We remember and do repeat our determination

termination to stand and fall with the British Nation.

“ We perceive with pleasure the magnanimity of your Majesty disclaim the little policy of making a bargain with your people; and feeling with pride the confidence your Majesty reposes in the good faith, generosity and honour of the Irish Nation, we answer with all humility, that your Majesty entertains a just sense of our character. Common interest, perpetual connexion, the recent conduct of Great Britain, a native affection to the British name and Nation, together with the constitution which we have recovered, and the high reputation which we possess, must ever decide the wishes as well as the interest of Ireland to perpetuate the harmony, stability and glory of the Empire.

“ We assure your Majesty, that we learn with singular satisfaction the account of your brilliant successes in the

G

East

East and West Indies, gratified at one and the same instant in our dearest wishes--- the Freedom of Ireland, and Glory of Great Britain.

“We cannot omit expressing our gratitude to your Majesty for appointing the Duke of Portland to the Government of this Kingdom. We are convinced his representations were faithful, vigorous, and beneficial. We are acquainted with his character, and relying on his upright and frugal Administration, make no doubt that a free People and an uncorrupt Parliament will unite to give a constitutional Chief Governor decided Support.

“We have presumed to lay before your Majesty our genuine sentiments on the change of our situation: Your Majesty will receive them as the voluntary unstipulated tribute of a free and grateful people.”

Addresses



Addreses to the Lord Lieutenant, expressing in the warmest terms their gratitude to him, were voted unanimously :—The Nation resounded with joy and congratulation ; and universal happiness for once seemed to pervade a kingdom.

Had any man foretold, that his Grace the Duke of Portland should be vilified, and his Administration condemned :—Had any man foretold, that a Grattan should in a few weeks become the object of the grossest and most illiberal abuse :—Had any man foretold, that dissatisfaction, jealousy and discontent, should publicly avow itself, before the rejoicings of the people were well concluded :—I say, had any man thus prophesied, he would probably have fallen a victim to his temerity.

Provincial Meetings were now called, to consider of Addreses suitable to the occasion :—The National Committee met on the 17th of June, prior to the Meet-

ings of the Provinces :---Discontent had shewn itself and the object of its meeting, was to consider, whether there was, or was not, in their judgment, just cause of complaint :---We adjourned without deciding any thing till next day ; this was not acting rashly :---When we met again, we came unanimously to the following resolution :

“VOLUNTEER NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

“ *At a Meeting of the Volunteer Committee, at Dublin, on Tuesday the 18th of June, 1782.*

“The Right Hon. Lord KINGSBOROUGH  
in the Chair.

“Resolved unanimously, that the Addresses of the Irish Parliament having disclaimed any power or authority of any sort whatsoever, in the Parliament of Great Britain over this Realm, we shall consider a repeal of the 6th of George the First by the British Parliament, made  
in

in pursuance of the said Addresses, a complete renunciation of all the claims contained in the said Statute, and, as such, we will accept it, and deem it satisfactory.

(Signed,)

“ Mervyn Archdall, Francis Dobbs, Joseph Pollock, for *Ulster*. Lewis Francis Irwin, Charles O'Hara, John Geoghegan, for *Connaught*. Richard Talbot, William Burton, John Parnell, R. Nevill, for *Leinster*. Kingsborough, R. Sh. Carew, W. T. Monfel, Samuel Jacob, A. Blennerhasset, William Godfrey, George Stackpoole, for *Munster*.”

The great object of the National Committee was, if possible, to preserve unanimity; we were, or some of us were, to attend our respective Provincial Meetings, and we thought our only chance of unanimity was, to fix on one point that we would support, and recommend in our particular provinces.

The next day Leinster met, and agreed with the National Committee, as appears by their Addresses to his Majesty and his Viceroy:---On the 21st of June, Ulster was also to meet; and as the first Dungannon Meeting was so particularly distinguished, I think it necessary to be also particular as to the second.

An industry, too conspicuous to be unobserved, had in a short space of time propagated discontent. Falsehoods of the most glaring nature filled many of the papers, and misrepresentation disgraced the freedom of the Press. English perfidy was inculcated, and the insufficiency of what had been obtained, asserted.—Without any change whatsoever on the part of Great Britain, a number of men, who were even ready, a few days before, to cross the Channel, to the aid of England, become unhappy and discontented, and the evening preceding the 21st of June, wore a very melancholy aspect.



The morning came, and the Meeting-House was our place of meeting. Col. Irvine was again called to the chair, and Capt. Dawson re-elected Secretary:— Their former conduct well entitled them to those exalted situations.

It again fell to my lot to open the business, and I know not on which occasion I felt most anxiety. However different the objects, both were in my apprehension equally momentous; and the fate and prosperity of my country equally at stake. I explained my reasons for being fully satisfied, and moved the following Address to his Majesty.

“ ULSTER VOLUNTEERS, IRELAND.

*Dungannon, June 21st, 1782.*

“ Col. WILLIAM IRVINE, in the Chair.

“ At a Meeting of Three Hundred and Six Companies of this Province, pursuant to public notice, the following  
ing

ing Address was unanimously agreed upon, and ordered to be presented to his Majesty by the Chairman, Major Francis Dobbs, Captain James Dawson, Captain Francis Evans, and Col. Thomas Morris Jones.

“To the KING’s most Excellent Majesty, the humble Address of the Volunteers of Ulster.

“*Most gracious Sovereign,*

“WITH the most unfeigned attachment to your Majesty’s person and family, we approach your throne. You are our true and lawful Sovereign; and we trust that every act of ours will evince, that we are your faithful and loyal subjects.

“The Addressees of the Irish Parliament having disclaimed any power or authority, of any sort whatsoever, in the Parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we shall consider an unqualified  
and

and unconditional repeal of the Statute of the Sixth of George the First, by the British Parliament, made in pursuance of the said Addresses, a compleat renunciation of a principle hostile to the rights of Ireland, and of all the claims contained in the said Statute; and as such we will accept it and deem it satisfactory. Thus united by the sacred bond of freedom, we request our gracious Sovereign to assure our Sister Kingdom, that we will be sharers in her fate, standing or falling with the British Empire.

“ We humbly beg leave to express our gratitude for the appointment of his Grace the Duke of Portland to the government of Ireland. Prevented by situation from enjoying the presence of our benevolent Sovereign, we rejoice in a Viceroy, whose character assures us that he will faithfully discharge the duties of his station.

“ The

“ The œconomy and retrenchment which your Majesty has been graciously pleased both to recommend and practise, will, we humbly hope, be extended to Ireland. Should a more equal representation of the people be also adopted, our prosperity would be for ever secured, and your Majesty’s reign most honourably distinguished in the annals of mankind.

“ We rejoice in the great and signal success of your Majesty’s arms : every enemy must yield to the efforts of a great, a brave, a free, and an united people. Your Majesty’s choice of those whom you have entrusted with the administration of public affairs gives us the most heart-felt satisfaction ; public confidence is revived, and we doubt not but your Majesty’s Crown and Empire will speedily be raised to the highest pinnacle of human glory.

“ We have ever beheld with admiration your Majesty’s domestic virtues.—May your Majesty, and the truly great  
and



and amiable partner of your throne, long, long live to bless each other : may the offspring of your happy union reward your parental fondness, by a display of every grace and every virtue ; and when, at length, the immutable law of nature shall demand that tribute, which even Kings must pay, may your mourning subjects with one voice lament, that the great, the benevolent father of his people is no more.

“ WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.

“ JAMES DAWSON, Secretary.”

From what I had heard, before we met, I was certain of defeat :—What then my surprise when it passed unanimously, and with a loud tribute of applause.

Captain Pollock then moved an Address to the Duke of Portland, which was carried unanimously---as was also an Address to Lord Charlemont, appointing him  
General

General of the Volunteers of Ulster, moved by Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart; and an Address to Mr. Grattan, expressing the highest satisfaction at the vote for 50,000l. moved by Captain Pollock :---A resolution moved by Col. Knox, for assisting in raising the 20,000 Seamen, and a Resolution for erecting a monument at Dunganon, in which Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan were to be particularly distinguished, moved by the Rev. Mr. Crawford and me, were also carried unanimously.

Thus ended the business of this memorable day :---Though there were 306 Corps represented, there was not a single dissentient :---The evening was spent as cheerfully as the former; and every thing wore the appearance of joy and satisfaction.

I have had time to reflect on both days, the 15th of February and 21st of June, and I most solemnly declare I know not  
which

which I hold in highest estimation:---  
 I am persuaded the director of all, was  
 the director of both, and the delegates  
 were only his humble instruments.---Let  
 not this belief impeach my understand-  
 ing:---Is it extraordinary if he who made  
 Kingdoms, should on great occasions  
 deign to direct the creatures that inhabit  
 them?

I have said, and I again repeat it,---  
 I know not which day I most venerate.  
 The first was to demand the rights of an  
 injured and oppressed people:---we did it  
 with temper and firmness---we deserved,  
 and therefore obtained success.---The  
 last, was for the no less glorious purpose  
 of shewing that we knew our duty to  
 man---to our country---and our God;---  
 To shew that arms, in the hands of Free-  
 men, are only dangerous when their Free-  
 dom is invaded;---To proclaim to an ad-  
 miring world---that we looked for our  
 rights, and no more than our rights;---To  
 prove, that we were as generous as we  
 were

were brave ; and would not insult a repenting Sister, already humbled by misfortune ; and that in her distress we were ready to take her to our bosom---to support her infirmities--to supply her wants, and to restore her to her former vigour.

The Province of Connaught also expressed its satisfaction, in Addresses to his Majesty and the Lord Lieutenant, as appears by those Addresses :---Munster met, but did nothing.

I must now paint a new, and to me a painful scene---painful, not for myself but for my country.---To me popularity is a matter of perfect indifference :---Experience has taught me, to stamp it with its true and real value :---I would not sacrifice a single principle to obtain it in its highest extent, but I would sacrifice my life for to deserve it.

We who were appointed to present the Address to his Majesty, immediately failed



ed for England :---Lord Shelburne treated us with the greatest politeness; and his Majesty was pleased, most graciously to receive our Address, and every mark of attention was paid, thro' us, to the Volunteers of Ulster.

Scarce had our Address been presented, when the packets from Ireland announced the dissatisfaction of two corps in the town of Belfast, who had been represented at Dungannon,-----We, who were executing our Commission, vilified and traduced in every newspaper,---Mr. Grattan, who had been addressed from every quarter, as the saviour of his country---who had been voted a statue by a full meeting of the Lawyers of Ireland publicly convened, and 50,000l. by the House of Commons of Ireland---was now become the object of the most illiberal and unjust abuse:---We felt like Irishmen, and were ashamed of the inconsistency of our country.---We felt for the  
loss

loss of character she must sustain by such a conduct, and how she must fall in the estimation of mankind.

The Belfast Review was approaching; those who were dissatisfied determined here to make their stand:---it had been for the two preceding years distinguished as the greatest in Ireland, and therefore its decision must carry a considerable weight along with it.---The 1st Belfast company had taken the lead, and was indefatigable in the pursuit of its object, That, dissatisfaction should be expressed at Belfast:---This company sent the following Address to the corps who were to assemble at the Review; and as papers had before passed between that Company and I, I also addressed the same Corps---both are as follow :

“ An

“ AN ADDRESS from the BELFAST  
FIRST VOLUNTEER COMPANY.

“ TO the OFFICERS and PRIVATES of the  
several COMPANIES to be reviewed at  
BELFAST, 31st JULY, 1782.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ FROM a conviction that the present is a critical moment for Ireland, in so much that we conceive that the question whether we shall be a free or an enslaved people depends on it; we humbly presume that an Address, induced by the purest motives, will not be held presumptuous, and that every reasonable allowance will be made for us by the liberality of our fellow-subjects and soldiers, the Volunteers of Ulster.

“ The struggles which this loyal nation has lately made toward casting off the usurpation of a country which cannot justly claim a single right to which Ireland

H

is

is not by charter, justice, and nature equally entitled, have excited the admiration of every state in Europe. But at this period of Irish virtue, were we contentedly to sit down with any thing short of complete freedom—we should render ourselves odious to millions yet unborn, who would tax us with having meanly sold an opportunity of rescuing the land from the yoke of slavery at such an æra as the revolution of centuries may not again produce.

“ The designs of ambitious men may for a time mislead, but cannot long delude a people of that sound plain understanding by which even the inferior classes of the men of Ulster have ever been distinguished. With such men, simple ungarnished truths, level to every capacity, must have their weight, and will, it is presumed, rouse them to a sense of the dignity and independence of their nation.

“ The



“The intention of this Address is, with all humility, to impress the following great and serious truths: That the rights of this kingdom are not yet secured, nor even acknowledged by Britain; partly owing to the delusions of many sincere friends; to the perfidy of pretended ones, and to an error committed through precipitancy by our representatives in the Senate—That unless a spark of that sacred flame which but a few days ago glowed in every breast in Ulster, be again excited, the glorious attempt of this country to procure its emancipation, instead of producing any real permanent good, will too probably be the means of depriving us of our rights for ever.

“Let us then trace the growth and progress of our late spirit, and let the claims asserted at Dungannon, on the 15th of February, be the ground-work of our enquiry.

“ The spirit of that great day’s proceedings, which was re-echoed from every quarter, may easily be collected from the following quotations :—Your representatives there assembled, declared,

—“ That a claim of any body of men  
 “ other than the King, Lords and Com-  
 “ mons of Ireland to make laws to bind  
 “ this kingdom, is unconstitutional and a  
 “ grievance.”

—“ That the ports of this kingdom are  
 “ by right open to all foreign countries  
 “ not at war with the King, and that  
 “ any burden thereupon, or obstruction  
 “ thereto, save only by the Parliament of  
 “ Ireland, is unconstitutional and a griev-  
 “ ance.”

“ A moment’s reflection will shew, that  
 the first of these two Resolves clearly ap-  
 plies to a denial of the pretended right of  
 Britain to INTERNAL legislation for this  
 country;

country;—and the latter resolve as decidedly determines with respect to EXTERNAL legislation, as our right to a freedom of commerce is its very soul and basis.

“ If it appear that these demands of Ireland, which arose from your own act, and from which you cannot recede without drawing down eternal dishonour on your posterity, have completely and without equivocation been acceded to, then the present discontents and jealousies are groundless and should cease; but if a candid disquisition evinces the contrary, the voice of Ireland should again be raised, and rather than the pride of a sister (in an honorable connection with whom we will ever glory) should trample on the dearest rights of our nature, we should meet our danger like men deserving to be Free, and by acting with the boldness of conscious virtue and true dignity, we would probably secure for ages the interest,

peace and affections of the two kingdoms.

“ Our Houses of Lords and Commons, forced into the temporary practice of virtue by the demands of an armed people, complained of the British Declaratory Law of 6th Geo. the 1st, and of the POWERS, as the Lords said, and of the CLAIMS of it, according to the Commons.

“ Every one must recollect in what manner demands, on the accuracy of which the settlement of the rights of three millions depend, was precipitated. Imperfect however as they were, their general tenor went to a demand of an eternal renouncement of all power of legislation for this country, however marked by the futile, groundless, and insidious distinction of external and internal.\*

“ In  
 “ \* It is supposed that Parliament have bound themselves in honour to accept of a SIMPLE repeal. Nothing is more false.

The



“In the address of our Commons to the King, we find the following animated expressions to this point:—

“There is no body of men competent  
“to make laws to bind this kingdom ex-

cept

The first address of the 16th of April in the Commons, and of the 17th in the Lords, is the great authority. There the Commons state as a grievance the act of the 6th of Geo. the First, and the CLAIMS; the Lords state the act and the POWERS. In demanding redress, they never mention the word repeal, much less SIMPLE REPEAL; and what fair man can deny that in demanding redress therefore they demand whatever is necessary to that redress—whether renunciation by England, a bill of rights here, or in short whatever is necessary to substantial redress.—The King's answer as to this, is, that the Houses of Parliament are united to gratify all our wishes.—As to the Irish acts necessary for the mutiny bill, and in the case of Poynings, he expresses his readiness to give the royal assent without STRIPULATION or CONDITION.

“In answer to this comes the second address, which being a compliment to the King for expressions of great grace, is more profuse and less guarded, and of less authority than the first, which was the address of business and precision; whereas the second is an address of sentiment and civility. The King having mentioned that his assent to our

Irish

“cept the King, Lords, and Commons of  
 “Ireland; nor any other Parliament  
 “which hath any authority or power of  
 “ANY SORT WHATSOEVER in this  
 “Country,

High laws of redress was given without STIPULATION or  
 CONDITION, some people apprehended that Mr. Fox's  
 speech tended to confirm that some BARGAIN was intended  
 to be made by the Parliament of England for giving us redress,  
 as to the 6th of George the First, and the claims and powers  
 which rendered that law offensive. They thought the words  
 UNCONDITIONAL and UNQUALIFIED repeal, (the words  
 used in the second address) obviated any idea of BARGAIN,  
 and no man could think that they did not comprehend the  
 fullest and most satisfactory repeal possible; whereas they are  
 now construed to have meant a SIMPLE repeal, which is  
 of all others the narrowest and most unsatisfactory. Now  
 certainly a repeal might have been so worded, by stating the  
 reason and principle of the repeal, as to amount to a perpet-  
 ual renunciation of the claims and powers.—Who can say  
 then that the faith or honour of parliament is bound to ac-  
 cept of a SIMPLE repeal, which they never once mentioned  
 or to forego a redress of the claims and powers, and to re-  
 linquish all substantial security? The history of the transaction  
 shews the words were supposed to obviate the idea of TRAF-  
 FIC or BARGAIN, and to prevent any COMPENSATION be-  
 ing demanded; and in the house repeatedly it was said, this  
 we demand, and we will not NEGOTIATE about it or make  
 terms.

“ Had

“Country, save only the Parliament of  
 “Ireland. To assure his Majesty, that  
 “we humbly conceive that in this right  
 “the very essence of our liberties exists;  
 a right

“Had not the history of the business pointed this out, on the mere words is it not fair to say that an unqualified repeal must mean a repeal without reserve? If therefore a simple repeal reserves the principle (which it certainly does) it is qualified, and very dangerously qualified too; and if there be a doubt on the construction of these words, can any thing prove more strongly that we ought not to leave our whole security to construction? And if there be a doubt, ought not the sense of Ireland and the liberality of England to take the most satisfactory and efficient construction of the words.

“On the day of the second address being moved in the Commons, Mr. Flood declared, that the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. would not be sufficient. Mr. Walthe expressly argued the legal point that a simple repeal of a declaratory law, repealed only the declaration. Sir Samuel Bradstreet, Recorder of Dublin, concurred.—Was not this timely warning.

“In the House of Lords, Lord Bellamont objected to the insufficiency of the words of the address as originally moved, and words were added without any division to the address to this purport, —That when that matter was COMPLETED, it would give satisfaction, &c. Lord Farnham, who moved the address in the Lords, admitted readily the words and the principle, declaring that the mere repeal of that law would be inadequate,

“ a right which we on the part of the  
 “ people of Ireland do claim as their birth-  
 “ right, and which we cannot yield but  
 “ with our lives.”

“ Let us examine how this claim, so  
 solemnly, advanced by the representatives  
 of a nation was received, and what ef-  
 fects it produced on “ *our repenting Sis-*  
 “ *ter.*”

“ Mr. Fox, a man of the first abilities in  
 Europe, who was the ostensible Minister  
 of that day, moved for a repeal of the  
 6th of George the first in the British House  
 of Commons, a repeal which has since  
 drawn such floods of gratitude and ill-  
 timed

inadequate. Not a Lord denied his doctrine on that day, and  
 the other day he repeated it, and added, I that as mover of the  
 address he was conversant in the councils of that period, and  
 that he did always understand that the repeal was to have  
 contained words perfectly satisfactory, as to the sole right of  
 our Parliament—or, in other words, that it was not to be  
 what is now contended for, a simple and silent repeal. Is  
 there any thing in this to bind the honour of Parliament to  
 give up the security of their Country?



timed applause from the open, sincere,  
 unsuspecting hearts of Irishmen. In a  
 speech in which his great abilities were  
 fully employed, introductory of the Irish  
 business to the Parliament and people of  
 Great Britain, a business of which he was  
 the avowed patron, in the very same  
 breath with which he urged the justice  
 of our demands, asserted, " that he al-  
 ways made a distinction between inter-  
 nal and external legislation, and though  
 it would be tyranny to attempt to en-  
 force the former in countries not repre-  
 sented in the British Parliament, yet he  
 was clear that the latter was in reason  
 and policy annexed to the British legi-  
 slature." A little after he presents a  
 just though dreadful view of that very  
 species of usurpation which he dignified  
 by giving it the air of a Right, though he  
 little intended that it should be seen in so  
 clear a light as it has been by every think-  
 ing man in this country:—His words  
 are: " But fatally for this country this  
 power of *external* legislation had been  
 employed

“ employed against Ireland as an instru-  
 “ ment of oppression to establish an im-  
 “ politic monopoly in trade, to enrich  
 “ one country at the expence of the other.”

Could a more striking illustration of the abominable state of subjection to which we were, according to his assertion reduced, and still are subject, be given?— This picture drawn in a British House of Commons, exhibits a nation deprived of even the shadow of constitution, and consequently its dearest interests lying at the mercy or rather caprice of a neighbouring nation ;---of a nation whose policy it had ever been to check and destroy in the bud, every prospect of gain and commercial advantage which did not directly tend to her own opulence, or did not gratify her own lust for power.

“ We might defy the most descriptive pen to delineate the features of the most abject slavery with more truth and accuracy.

“ We

“ We don’t mean to tax the then Premier with any misconduct as a British Minister, as we cannot but suppose he fairly represented the sentiment of the Cabinet—the sentiment of an administration uncommonly popular, and of the bulk of the British nation ; for we are well aware that a man situated as he was, durst not, as Premier, utter a sentiment not according with that of his colleagues ; also that his chance for remaining long in office depended on his acting up to, and holding such language as, considering the circumstances of the times, would be most pleasing to the country to which he belonged. Mr. T. Pitt, who seconded the motion of Mr. Fox, further advanced, “ That he knew no difference “ between internal and external legisla- “ tion, and that he would not to his last “ breath think otherwise.” Lord Beauchamp was the only man who contended against the claim of externally legislating for us, and who foresaw that any thing

relinquishment of that claim,

as well as the other, could not be satisfactory to this country. A few days after the Minister said, that the first men of Ireland were content with a repeal alone. In that shape the law passed, and we were persuaded in the second Address to admit the idea, not indeed of a simple repeal, but of a repeal without stipulation or condition—and which might have been full and sufficient if properly worded.

“ We have from these circumstances every presumptive evidence that it never was the intention of Britain or of British Ministers to relinquish the right, and that their favour extended no farther than to a suspension of its exercise, which in her then debilitated state she could not enforce.

“ We have here avoided mentioning the very cogent reasons advanced by the Right Hon. H. Flood, and the great view he has opened of the question to the kingdom



kingdom at large : we must, however, pay him that tribute of praise, that no man has yet been hardy enough (save Mr. Dobbs) to meet him on that subject, either in Parliament or in the public prints.

—As to that gentleman's impregnable "fortress, founded on a rock," we presume it could be taken without much difficulty :—but as it is purposely erected to withstand the abilities of the greatest man, and perhaps the most profound constitutional historian in the British empire, we shall not here presume to attack it\*.

" It

\* Mr. Dobbs, in his Address to the Ulster Volunteers, of the 17th July, 1782, says as follows :—" I will here insert an argument I used at Dungannon, and which I believe decided our opinions—I addressed the Chairman thus—" But, Sir, we are told, a repeal is not sufficient, and that a Declaration from Great Britain is necessary to compleat the business—Sir, if such a Declaration added an atom of real security, I would contend for it—but feeling as I do, that it would not, I will never call upon England to proclaim her injustice." Our repenting sister has done away the offence, and though I were sure she would consent to this humiliation, I would disdain to demand it. Should she be perfidious, though she enacted law upon law, and declaration upon declaration, what is their security ? The power that can enact and declare, can also repeal, and if after this, she meditates,

“ It is very foreign from our intention to attempt to open new grounds of controversy with England; but we ardently wish, and

and ditates, when power shall return, to be again unjust, would she hesitate in rescinding such laws and such declarations? Between man and man a minute and special agreement is necessary, because there are human tribunals to which men can appeal: But between nation and nation, honor and public faith can be the only tie. Does any man who hears me, doubt but England would be deemed deceitful and unjust, if, after this repeal, she ever attempts to make laws for us? But if she should, who is the Judge that is to try it? The Almighty Judge of all—Do you then deem it necessary to store up Records? Do you mean at a future day to produce a musty Statute to Omniscience? No, no; you feel how ridiculous it is, and laugh at the idea. If ever England is perfidious your appeal must be to Heaven, and your arguments must be your arms.

“ Here I take my ground; if I am beat out of it I will acknowledge I am wrong. I will not call on HAMPDEN ALTER, nor will I disturb the ghost of ALGERNON SIDNEY, in the enjoyment of Elysium.—No, I will call on the life, the soul, the spirit of this enterprize; I call on Mr. FLOOD to attack the fortress which I hold, weak as its garrison may be: If it should stand against his gigantic powers, it will prove it to be a fortress founded on a rock, and fortified with judgment. If I cannot defend it I will surrender at discretion, and lament that with the best of motives I have been instrumental in misleading you.”

and will never cease to hope, that the people of this kingdom will, by perseverance and an exertion of spirit, bounded by loyalty to our Prince and a love of the British constitution according to its purest principles, very speedily obtain the wishes expressed by its inhabitants in every capacity, and by the Addresses of its own Parliament to its Sovereign. As to Volunteers, it is evident that their honour is bound by the determination of their first and only glorious meetings in their different provinces—and that THEY cannot retract without ignominy and contempt. Let a reflection on the miraculous effects your own spirit, displayed at one of your Dungannon meetings, produced on all descriptions of men, as well the courtier as the timid friend, teach you that even unanimity among ourselves, as well as a lasting and happy connection between the two contending parties, can only be obtained by again speaking out with that spirit which characterised Irishmen on the 15th of February, 1782,

and which rendered it a day that will make an eminent figure in the annals of the empire.

“ Recollect that Ulster led the way; that the other Provinces followed the great example with redoubled vigour, and that we cannot doubt they will do so again; that discontents against men and measures are gone forth, and are hourly encreasing; that the first meeting of Ulster is equally the pride of every man in Ireland; and the last one pretty generally reprobated as premature, ill-judged, and not conveying the sense of the constituent body. Such reflections will convince every impartial man, that a speedy meeting on the hill of Dunganon, (the delegates being previously instructed by *the People*, in whom only true spirit exists, and taught only to echo their sentiment,) can alone, in the present mutilated state our affairs, so lately promising every blessing,—give us the chance of a free constitution. Do not forget that  
Connaught



Connaught has, in her address to Majesty, laid down, in the most pointed terms that language could convey, the very principle which we here endeavour to establish and maintain—where she informs his Majesty, that a revival of the claims either of external or internal legislation, would for ever sever the two countries.

“ If you follow her steps in that point, what can possibly be dreaded? You will at that instant with her compose a large majority of the armed force of Ireland: And no man who has not sinister, dishonest views, can pretend to alledge that perfect unanimity would not prevail over the whole kingdom, as it did when there was much less chance or expectation of it.

“ The British legislature in claiming a right to external legislation for this country, assumes an absolute controul over our commerce and foreign trade; and consequently can, if we admit her claim, prevent us from

forming any commercial connexion with any nation on the globe, however well calculated our produce or manufactures may be to serve such nation. When such a preposterous claim is made, will any man in his right reason say that this is enjoying equal liberty; or that we have under such base restraint, received what Britain was pleased to term a Free Trade, when the moment of her depriving us of a commerce even with foreign nations depends merely on her own caprice, or her own interest?

“Slavery cannot be of a deeper complexion!

“It may be alledged, that this is the price we pay for the protection of the British flag. But let us not deceive ourselves. Ireland is, and ever was, one of the best pillars of the empire, and contributes more to the aggrandizement of Britain than any other country she is connected with. But independently of this

cir-

circumstance, will any man not enamoured with the horrors of bondage dare to assert, that the loss of civil liberty should be the price of any protection whatever?

“ We take the liberty of submitting three resolutions to your deliberation, which we will move through our delegate the day after the Belfast Review, when addresses to the Reviewing General will be moved for.

“ Previous to that day, we hope you will instruct your delegate which will attend the meeting, whether you chuse that he should give your assent or dissent to them.

“ 1st Resolve. That a Dungannon meeting be held on the            day of            for the purpose of considering whether any, and which of the demands of the Province of Ulster of the 15th of Feb. 1782, have not yet been complied with.

If any are found not yet complied with, prudent measures may be adopted for obtaining them, as also for obtaining an Irish Statute, declaring that the sole right of both external and internal legislation, is vested in our own Parliament, and in no other—as its receiving the assent of a Prince in whom the two Crowns are united would be held a strong security, and would administer general satisfaction.

“ 2d Resolve. That it is not the sense of this meeting that a simple repeal of the 6th Geo. I. can be accepted as a sufficient renunciation of the claim of external and internal legislation formerly exercised over this country.

“ 3d Resolve. In order to guard against an undue use of delegated power, that it be held a general principle, that no resolutions or addresses which may be adopted at any future assemblies of delegates, can be considered as being the resolutions and addresses of such Volun-

teer



teer companies, until the Chairman shall have transmitted copies of their proceedings to all the companies for whom delegates appeared—each of which corps shall deliberate collectively upon such proceedings, and return to the Chairman on or before a limited day their several approbations or disapprobations of each resolution and each address. That as soon as it has been ascertained which resolutions and which addresses are agreeable to the majority, then and not before, such resolutions shall be held binding on the constituent body, and the addresses shall then be presented or transmitted. That such Chairman shall, in the public prints of the Province, publish such assents or dissents of corps to each resolution and each address.

We have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your fellow Subjects and Soldiers.

[Signed by order of the Company,]

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM."

*Belfast, July 18, 1782.*

" AN ADDRESS from FRANCIS DOBBS, Esq; to the Officers and Privates of the several Companies to be Reviewed at Belfast, the 31st July, 1782.

" Gentlemen,

" FROM the fullest conviction, that this is a critical moment for Ireland, and that your conduct, at the ensuing Review, will lead to the peace, honour and prosperity, or to the devastation, ignominy and destruction of Ireland, I now address you.

" You are addressed from the Belfast First Company, and, if they are right, the emancipation of your country is not obtained. If they are right, you are betrayed by every man, whom you have long looked up to, as well as by those, who were but lately in your confidence. —If the First Belfast be right, a Charlemont, who has devoted his life to your rights

—a Grattan, whom you almost adored,—  
 a Brownlow—a Stewart—an Ogle—a  
 Yelverton—a Burgh—a Bagnell—in  
 short, every member of the senate, who  
 has distinguished himself in your cause,  
 in the cause of liberty, have sold you—  
 and six gentlemen, which was the num-  
 ber that divided against the resolution in  
 the House of Commons, on Friday the  
 19th inst. (“ That the exclusive right of  
 legislation, as well external as internal in  
 the Parliament of Ireland, was acknow-  
 ledged unequivocally by Great Britain.”)  
 are the only friends of their country.

“ Two resolutions; namely, “ That a  
 “ claim of any body of men, other than the  
 “ King, Lords and Commons of Ireland,  
 “ to make laws to bind this kingdom, is  
 “ unconstitutional, and a grievance.

“ That the ports of this kingdom are,  
 “ by right, open to all foreign countries,  
 “ not at war with the King, and that any  
 “ burthen thereupon, or obstruction there-  
 “ to,

“to, save only by the Parliament of Ireland, is unconstitutional and a grievance”—were among the resolutions at Dungannon. I admit with the First Belfast, that these resolutions exclude England from either making laws internally or externally, for Ireland. I would shed the blood of that heart, which has uniformly beat high in your cause, rather than submit to either; but I contend for it, and I will give you my reasons, that as far as it is possible to be secured, you are secure, and that all that has been set up, after the faith of the nation was pledged, if obtained, would not add an atom to your security.

“Dungannon resolutions spread thro’ the kingdom, and the unanimity that marked them, declared their justice.—England felt it, and the Lord Lieutenant was instantly changed.—The new Lord Lieutenant asked for your demands—Every thing demanded at Dungannon was demanded by Parliament—Every thing demanded



demanded by Parliament was complied with—And Parliament expressed its full and ample satisfaction—Then, AND NOT TILL THEN—Then, when the honour, faith, and every thing dear to the character of a nation were pledged, it was suggested, That a repeal was not satisfactory, and that a Declaration from England, renouncing all right to bind us, must be obtained. The language of better security was held out—The language of legal security was held out—Let us try whether this be any thing but words——If there is meaning, if there is security, if there is honour, if there is justice, if there is magnanimity in it, let us contend for it. But if there is no security, no honour, no justice, no magnanimity in it, let us treat it with contempt.

“ Let us first examine this act, which is just repealed. The 6th of George I. amongst other things, says, That England had, hath, and of right, ought to have, a power to make laws to bind Ireland

land——What does the repeal then say? Does it not say, That they have given up what the act contains? Does it not say, that they had not, have not, nor, of right, ought to have, a power to make laws to bind Ireland?—What does Lord Abingdon's speech say, that is so much taken notice of, for the bill contained in that speech was not seconded, does not lie on the table, is not mentioned in the minutes of the day—I ask, What does that speech say? For it is no more than a speech. It says, That England now has no right to make laws for Ireland, externally or internally, because the 6th of George the I. is repealed, and therefore, he moves for leave to bring in his bill, which was treated with such contempt, that it was not even seconded. If such a bill was to pass, then, indeed, your indignation would be called for—then, indeed, I would be among the first to rouse you to arms.

“Let

“ Let us now examine a Declaration, on the part of England, renouncing all right.—In the first place, we deny, That England ever had a right, and I submit to you whether the calling for renunciation is not saying, England has a right—What has she to renounce? Is it nothing she has to renounce? If you call on her to renounce a right, do you not admit that right? Do you not furnish her at a future day, with an argument against yourselves? But grant, that renunciation, or declaration from England would not admit her right, Where is its security? Can she not, the next hour, if she thinks proper, make a declaration, or a law directly opposite? If then, she can, it is a security, that, for my part, I would not give a farthing for.

“ But it is said, it would be a better security. I deny it, where there can be no security, but honour and faith, there can be no degrees of security, it being  
fully

fully understood what is the intention of the parties in matters of honour and faith, is all that is necessary—Now, does any man doubt, that it is fully understood between England and Ireland, that we are satisfied, because we hold that England is bound by every tie of honour and faith never to attempt to make laws, externally or internally, to bind us—As I said before, no declaration or law she could make, if she has a mind to be perfidious, can prevent her again repealing, or again enacting——The mistake is here. You talk of nations as you talk of men,—but there is no tribunal, to which nations can appeal, to prove their better security, but Heaven. Now, let me suppose, that men have no other tribunal—A man owed me money, and he gave me his note, that he would pay me, and I, afterwards, demanded his bond, though there was no tribunal on earth, that could enforce the payment of either. Would the bond, however high sounding, be a better security than the note, when there

was



was no tribunal that could enforce either? The same observation will hold with respect to a repeal, declaration and renunciation. There is no earthly tribunal that can decide. We have the honour and faith of England. We can have no more. I again, and again, repeat it, if England is perfidious, our appeal must be to Heaven, and our arguments must be our Arms.

“ But we ought to have a legal security. What is a legal security? Is it not a security, that an acknowledged legal court can try, and give judgment upon? Now, how can there be a legal security between nation and nation? Where is the court you can go before to plead and enforce your security? If, then, there is no court on earth, to which you can go, there can be no legal security. The words are sounds and not sense, and I trust will not mislead your honest judgments.

“ What

“What is now the fact? No one law made in England, that is not recognized by our Parliament, is binding here. No one law affecting your external commerce made by England, and not recognized by your Parliament, is binding on our trade. The exertion of the whole claim is laid aside, and you are now, as free as any nation under Heaven.

“Conversations, in the House of Commons of England, are talked of—I do not care, if fifty tyrants there wished to enslave us, whilst the legislature, as a legislature, repeals the law, which says, She has a right to bind us. Do we mind in our Houses of Parliament, the absurdities of a few individuals? Do we take the rash, the foolish, the mad expressions of individuals, as the determination of the Senate? The argument may mislead, but it must appear insignificant in my apprehension, to every man of common understanding.

“A bill

“ A bill declaratory of our rights was moved for lately, and rejected; because totally unnecessary, and because it would be involving a new question, after the Lords and Commons had, publicly, pledged themselves to be satisfied, and the people had assented. I will admit, that, that bill could have done no harm, and I would have voted for it, had I had the honour of a seat in Parliament, had it been introduced before the nation had expressed its contentment. But, I think it a matter of perfect insignificance as to real security; and I now should think the introducing it, would be the first breach of faith, on the part of Ireland. You have expressed, that you are satisfied — You have expressed, that you are satisfied, because England has for ever relinquished all claim, or right to bind you in any shape whatsoever. What then would your conduct now be, if, after this, you required more? It would be inconsistent,

K

sistent, (with your pardon for the expression) it would be absurd.

“ Every thing is to be urged to re-commit the nation—I am the only man, it is said, that has been bold enough, to meet Mr. Flood in argument either in or out of Parliament: it is well, they dated their paper the 18th of July, for, I heard Mr. Grattan, in the House of Commons, on the 19th, answer Mr. Flood—I saw almost every man, that I have been taught by you, to look up to, as your friends, and as the friends of Ireland, with Grattan—I saw Mr. Flood and five others against the resolution of that day—I believe Mr. Grattan will publish, what he recollects of his speech, and let it say for itself and its cause, what my abilities do not enable me to do.

“ The resolutions of Connaught are mentioned, and it is said She informs his Majesty, That a revival of the claims, either of external or internal legislature  
would



would, for ever, sever the two countries  
 —Who denies it? I spoke it lately to the  
 first ministers of England, and I have evi-  
 dence, that I did, if you choose to call  
 for it—Has not Ulster done, in fact, the  
 same thing when these words were intro-  
 duced into our Address presented to the  
 Irish King, in the presence of his English  
 Courtiers, surrounded by his British sub-  
 jects, and their parliament then sitting?  
 “ The Addresses of the Irish Parliament  
 “ having disclaimed any power, or autho-  
 “ rity of any sort whatever, in the Par-  
 “ liament of Great Britain over this realm,  
 “ we shall consider an unqualified, and  
 “ unconditional repeal of the statute 6th  
 “ George I. by the British Parliament;  
 “ made in pursuance of the said addresses,  
 “ a complete renunciation of a principle,  
 “ hostile to the rights of Ireiand, and of all  
 “ the claims contained in the said statute,  
 “ and as such we will accept it, and deem  
 “ it satisfactory.”

“What has Connaught done that we have not done? I love and honour Connaught, and I trust that we will never deviate from their proceedings.

“I now submit to you two lines of conduct. By dissenting from the unanimous vote of your House of Lords, which says, That a repeal of the 6th George I. is a complete dereliction of all claim, to make laws, internally or externally, for this country, by dissenting from your House of Commons, where six members only, were found to object to a resolution, That England had completely renounced all right, internally or externally, for legislating for us—By dissenting from the unanimous voice of Dungannon, from the voice of Leinster, from the voice of Connaught, and probably from the voice of Munster—You open all anew, you undo all that has been done—You risk every hazard of a bloody, civil war—and if you succeed, you get that, which is not, cannot be, nor will be a real security.

city. You render the name of Ireland, and particularly of Ulster, contemptible. You make yourselves insignificant, for, who after this changeability, will confide in you? Who will rely upon the opinion of this day, being the opinion of to-morrow? Remember I call upon you to remember, that our honour and dignity as a nation, are at stake.

“ There is another line of conduct in your power, think well of it, and then decide.

“ By agreeing with your Lords and Commons, by agreeing with the unanimous voice of the Delegates at Dunganon, by agreeing with Connaught, with Leinster, and with the probable voice of Munster, by being unanimous in the construction of the conduct of England, and that she has, for ever, relinquished all right, internally or externally, to make laws to bind this country—You bind yourselves together, you bind England,

as far as honour and faith can bind her, (and you can bind her no farther) never to infringe upon your rights—By this conduct, Ireland, to a man, will unite at the first infringement, and by uniting, stop it.—Public propriety and consistency will gain you every honour, and give you real and true stability—Whilst we have force, we are safe, when we have not, we are at the mercy of those who have; this being the case, I shall submit to you the following Resolutions—Weigh them fairly with the other Resolutions, and see which establishes the honour and rights, consistency, faith and prosperity of your country.

“Resolved,

“That as our Parliament has demanded all that the Resolutions of the 13th February, 1782, at Dungannon, required, and in that demand expressed, “That  
“there is no body of men competent to  
“make laws to bind this kingdom, ex-

“cept



“cept the King, Lords, and Commons of  
 “Ireland, nor any other Parliament  
 “which hath any authority, or power of  
 “any sort whatsoever in this country,  
 “save, only, the Parliament of Ireland.”

To assure his Majesty, that we humbly  
 conceive, that, in this right, the very  
 essence of our liberties exists, a right which  
 we, on the part of the people of Ireland,  
 do claim as their birth-right, and which  
 we cannot yield but with our lives.—And  
 then required the repeal of the 6th Geo. I.  
 and have since declared, that repeal to be  
 a full and unequivocal renunciation on  
 the part of Great Britain, to make laws  
 to bind Ireland, either externally or inter-  
 nally. We therefore conceive Great Bri-  
 tain so bound for ever to us and our pos-  
 terity, as that we shall consider the slight-  
 est attempt on the part of England to  
 make laws externally or internally, to  
 bind Ireland, as the signal for irrevocable  
 separation, therefore we do not deem any  
 meeting at Dungannon necessary at pre-  
 sent.

“Resolved,

“Resolved,

“That we will not suppose it possible; that Great Britain should ever break thro’ the faith and honour which she has now pledged to us, but as power is the only true and real security to a nation, we will continue in the exercise of arms, and recommend it to our latest posterity, to imitate our example, remembering that freedom can only be preserved by the Arms of FREE MEN.

“I have only to add, that as to all insinuations of the motives of my conduct, I despise them—I have uniformly acted with those men, that I thought the best men in this kingdom, with those men whom your opinions had sanctioned—If I fall before popular indignation—I fall with almost with every man in this kingdom, whose public conduct has met your approbation—and I fall with what is more to me than all—with the consciousness of having exerted every nerve and every

power

power of mine, to lead you to glory, honour and prosperity, and when you had obtained that glory, honour and prosperity, I exerted myself, successfully, as I thought, to prevent your doing that I deemed would lead you to destruction.

“Whatever you may think of me;

“I know that I am,

“And ever have been,

“Your Faithful, your Devoted,

“And most Grateful Servant,

FRANGIS DOBBS.”

The 31st of July arrived, and displayed a truly glorious exhibition—A Volunteer encampment of near three thousand men, and the Volunteer garrison of upwards of one thousand—all

completely

completely clothed, armed and accoutred. Their military knowledge and appearance struck the veteran with wonder, and they were at this Review, superior even to themselves.---Glorious men!---may you never be brought either by error, or design, to injure the real interests of your country !

Anonymous papers in thousands were dispersed through the camp and garrison. Every private was taught, that he was competent to legislate, and consequently to express his sentiments on the most speculative points.---Declaration---Renunciation---Simple Repeal---Legal Security---Better Security, and Bill of Rights, were all before them---and they were to instruct their Delegates on these important points.

The Delegates assembled on the third of August, and Col. Stewart, (member for the



the county of Down) was unanimously called to the chair.

As Exercising Officer, I moved an Address to the Reviewing General Lord Charlemont, and in it inserted a clause of our being fully satisfied. A debate commenced whether it should not be expunged, and at the end of eleven hours a division took place, when there appeared for expunging, 31,—against it, 29.—The Address thus altered, passed unanimously. Colonel Dawson then moved a resolution of thanks to me, as Exercising Officer, which also passed unanimously. This, after so warm a contest and so close a division, marked the liberality of their souls, and I thanked them from the bottom of my heart.

The Rev. Mr. Bryson now came forward as a Delegate from the First Belfast Company—with his political resolutions, but it being apprehended that the sense of the meeting was against all politics,  
Colonel

Colonel Dawson moved the question of adjournment, *sine Die*, and on a division there were for it 31, against it 27, and thus ended the business of that day.

Here let us mark three meetings, the first and second Dungannon, and the Belfast Review. Let us mark the distinction between agitating plain and simple truths, and nice and speculative points, where the lower orders of men, are to instruct their Delegates, and not leave them to their own discretion. At the first Dungannon, so plain and obvious were the things proposed, that there was scarcely a dissentient though 147 were present. At the second Dungannon, though there were 306 present, not a single dissenting voice was heard. At Belfast where there were only 60 Delegates, there were two divisions, one 31 to 29—the other 31 to 27. I will not draw any conclusion; but in my apprehension the third of August 1782, is widely distinguished from the 15th of February, and 21st of June preceding it.

Belfast

Belfast has the honor or dishonor of the one, and Dungannon of the others.

Impropriety is always inconsistent, because there are a thousand ways of acting improperly. Propriety for the contrary reason is ever consistent. When we expressed satisfaction at Dungannon, we were unanimous. Let us see, are the dissatisfied unanimous. Some are for Renunciation---Some for a Bill of Rights---and some would be satisfied, or say so, if the Provincials were laid aside---and a great majority of Volunteers have not expressed themselves at all---no three things can more widely differ, than Renunciation---Bill of Rights---and Provincials. The first must be the act of an English Parliament; the second of an Irish Legislature, and the third, an act of the just prerogative of the Crown---on some other recent occasions the nation was unanimous in their object. Had they been wrong they would not have been

been so. They were right, and being so, were deservedly successful.

As a Bill of Rights has been less discussed than Renunciation, let us enquire whether any, and what security would arise from it.

That we have now a Free Constitution is not, I believe, denied; but a Bill of Rights is necessary to transmit it to posterity. Suppose it obtained, and that it declares the King shall forfeit his Irish Crown, the moment he gives the Royal Assent, to any British act binding Ireland. England again becomes superior in power, and with that superiority, becomes perfidious. The British Parliament again, because it can again with impunity, brings in another bill to bind Ireland, in all cases whatsoever. Oh, but an Irish act declares, if the King gives his assent to such a law, he is no longer King of Ireland? The King, we will suppose, refuses. The British Parliament tacks it  
to



to a Money Bill. Adds, we will neither give you money nor shall you be our King, unless you give the Royal Assent. As to the Irish act of Parliament, we have power, they are weak, and your Irish Crown is secure. If you doubt, remember the Sixth of George the First. It was repealed because we were weak, and had many enemies to combat, and Ireland was in force—but Ireland is now weak, and must again submit. Is this then your security? Is it for this, that you are dissatisfied? Is it for this the peace and tranquillity of your country is to be disturbed? And is it for this nothing of security, that, the unanimous satisfaction of a nation, was destroyed? If England has power and perfidy, such a bill cannot be a defence—and if she has not both power and perfidy, she will never attempt to legislate for us.

But we are informed England has her Bill of Rights? What Bill of Rights? Will any man say it is a Bill of Rights to prevent

prevent another Legislature, from making laws to bind Great Britain? And yet it is for this, and this purpose only, that an Irish Bill of Rights, is contended for.

The Provincials is another source of discontent. Let us consider this measure and fairly try, whether it does, or does not, deserve the abuse which it receives.

Parliament gave to his Majesty the power of taking 5,000 men from Ireland, though our force was always to be 12,000. And particularly specifies, that his Majesty is thus empowered, because they wish to shew their zeal and affection to their sister kingdom. The establishment of 12,000 is compleatly provided for, because the King is to take them, only, if he shall deem it necessary.

Let

Let us see what the King, according to his acknowledged prerogative might have done, had this act never have been made.

Could he not have raised 5,000 men in Ireland, and afterwards sent them to England? Could he not have raised 5,000 men in England, Wales or Scotland, and have sent them to Ireland and then taken 5,000 of the 12,000? Would Ireland in either case have lowered her force, or her expenditure? Does then the zeal and affection of Parliament, in the hour of England's distress, deprive the King of 5,000 men? Does this act deprive the King of what he had a right to before it passed? If it does I believe such a mode of shewing zeal and affection, is unparalleled in the annals of Parliament.

If the King takes them, they are to be paid by England; but cannot the King, the moment he chooses, return them—

L

or

or an equal number of men? If then he can, the question comes to this—whether we would rather have an army of English, Welch, or Scotch, than an army of Irishmen. Do you think your liberties safer by your establishment being composed of regiments in rote, totally unconnected with you, than by an establishment of Irishmen? residing with you—surrounded by their relations, neighbours and friends—married and connected to you by every endearing tie—and bound by every principle of nature, habit, and affection, to be the guardians of your freedom, and the protectors of their native land.

Let us recollect our past, and compare it with our present situation. No armed body but 12,000 men, made up of every description, and only passing through, not settling in the land. A militia carefully avoided—for Irishmen oppressed, were not to be trusted with arms. How different the times? Behold those regiments



ments of rotine taken away, and Irishmen substituted in their stead. Had I a doubt of English sincerity, this would remove it. Had England the intention of any latent perfidy, Provincials are not what they would look up to, to carry it into execution. I trust ere long the people will view this in its proper light—will make the encrease and continuance of Provincials their darling object, till at length it becomes the sole establishment. If the establishment be more than what is necessary, let Parliament lessen it; but let the defenders of Ireland, be Irishmen.

—As to the Provincials disuniting Volunteers, I do not comprehend it; and as to lowering their numbers, so would any other levy, if even all the Provincials were Volunteers, what has that great body to fear from them. Whilst Volunteers continue, the military cannot hurt them—and if they should not continue, is not

Provincials the least exceptionable establishment.

I have thus endeavoured to give a short, and I trust, a just and impartial account of these extraordinary times. Let those who with me rejoice, in the Modification of the Law of Poynings',—who with me rejoice in the Perpetual Cause of the Mutiny Bill being removed—who with me rejoice in the Independence of the Judges;—Who with me rejoice in the Foundation laid for the Military Establishment of Ireland, being Irishmen;—In short, let those who with me rejoice in the Repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. and the Liberties of Ireland restored,—venerate the name of Portland!—Behold with gratitude and wonder what has been done for us in his Administration! And then adore the living God!

I will now state what appears to me our present situation.

Ireland

Ireland is Free, but cannot instantly reap the benefits of emancipation—A Free Trade cannot be beneficial, till we are enabled to take the advantage of it—it is nugatory, till by the means of arts and industry, of agriculture and manufactures, we are enabled to supply our own, and also the wants of other nations—Till this period arrives, the right of exportation is of little value—Those great and important changes that have taken place, will not bring riches uninvited, but they have given the certain means, by which riches may be acquired.

Ireland seems now a favoured nation---situated on the verge of the old, it will naturally become the mart between it and the new world---Our ports and harbours point out, that commerce is our object---Our soil produces all that is necessary to the sustenance of man ;---our seas are filled with riches---and to crown all, our climate, is excelled by none.

But 'Ireland is almost in a state of nature---Her fields and her inhabitants are equally uncultivated:---The linen manufacture is the only one fully established, and even that, has many great and powerful rivals.

Let any man acquainted with England compare it, and its inhabitants, with Ireland:---By nature this country is superior; but arts, industry and freedom, have raised England far above us---amidst the enormous taxes which the English pay, behold them with peace and plenty in their looks; neat in their dress; and in their dwellings---whilst Irishmen, under light taxation, are meagre in their faces, filthy in their dress, and dwell in hovels.

Let the Irish then, by their propriety of conduct, invite strangers to their land. They will bring their arts and wealth along with them. Their wealth will be dispersed, and what is better, their arts  
and



and industry will be diffused:---I would rather see the promised colony from Geneva, - which the Duke of Leinster has so gloriously invited, \* than twenty parchment renunciations, and twenty parchment bills of rights, that may be as easily broke through as the parchment that contains them. Let us get manufactures and people---let us become industrious, and thereby wealthy—and let us look forward to the only real strength of nations—men and money. This is the barrier I would raise to Irish Liberty.

But what stranger will come, what artist will settle, or who will bring his wealth to Ireland, if arms is legislation. The Volunteers have been the saviours, but it is also in their power to be the destroyers of their country.

#### Volunteers

\* The Duke of Leinster has offered, without any purchase, 2000 acres, to the colony.—A noble instance of public spirit and humanity.

Volunteers are unprecedented, and history does not record their like. They have therefore no example to pursue, but they may leave a glorious one behind them. A great occasion called them, in fact, to legislate; but a great occasion only should do it. I allow the people have a right to return to a state of nature, and choose again the terms on which they will enter into society; but whilst their government exists, they should obey it. It is the people's right to represent their grievances; and any real grievance will unite them in seeking for redress; and when united, they must be gratified.

The Volunteers of Ireland have power, and I have seen it led to glorious purposes; but at that moment I dreaded, least it might be perverted. I had read the History of England, and remembered that an incensed people once sent forth an army from themselves, though not Volunteers, to tear an infatuated, and arbitrary

arbitrary monarch from his throne, and to deprive him of his life.—I remembered also, that the ambitious Cromwell, by means of that very army, became a greater tyrant, than him he had destroyed.

Let the ambitious and the people look at this, and both may find a lesson:—What did the people gain by going further than they ought—slavery!—What did the ambitious Cromwell gain, by all his hypocrisy, and all his villainy?—Misery—the worst of misery—the misery of guilt. He lived in perpetual apprehension—He eat in armour, he walked in armour, and he slept in armour: nay, he would not even venture to sleep twice successively in the same chamber.—Thus at war with himself, and with the world, he lived detested, and died without a friend.

How different, oh Cromwell, might have been thy lot!—If the unhappy Charles could not be spared, had you  
called

called home his son, and fixed the constitution, on a firm and lasting basis.--Had you disbanded your army, and told them their business was accomplished, and that they might then enjoy the blessings of peace and liberty restored, you would have been among the best and greatest of mankind.--You would have enjoyed every blessing of life, and would have received every tribute of applause--and when at length the hour of fate arrived; you would have died amidst the lamentations of your countrymen; and recording monuments would have transmitted your glorious name to the latest posterity,

The Volunteers should, and I dare say will consider, that they are not the people of Ireland :--Should they, because they have power, act contrary to the sense of the majority of the people, they become tyrants--whether one or sixty thousand oppressors exist, is the same to the oppressed--or if there is a difference, it is in favour of the single tyrant.

It



It is said the characters of men ought not to be considered. I ready allow that if good politics are recommended, no matter by whom, they ought to be attended to. But who are to judge of these politics? I shall be told the people at large. Now the people at large may be very competent to judge of characters, but not of nice points in politics.---He who is obliged to work at his loom, at his plow, or at the other various occupations of life, has neither the means, nor leisure, for information :---He cannot look back into the page of history, and learn to direct his future conduct, by the experience of past ages. A plain honest countryman, not hurried away by his passions, if his vote was asked on a point he did not understand, but which was either materially to injure or to sere the nation, would naturally consult the best informed of his neighbours. If two men of equal knowledge were in his reach, the one remarkable for every virtue, the other though  
equal

equal in understanding, remarkable for every vice---Which would he go to?---The question answers itself. I say then the people should examine the character and the obvious motives of every man, who wishes to direct them.

For instance, if a man notoriously disappointed in his expectations from government, was to oppose that government, I would listen to him with caution.---If a man, by a change of men and measures, had lost considerable emolument, or been disappointed in expected honors, his opposition would have little weight with me.---If a man discarded, and who had uniformly been the advocate of slavery and the tool of corruption, should come and preach to me, Irish Freedom, I should despise his meanness, and detest his baseness. And if men, who had sold their votes, but from a change of ministers had not received the wages of iniquity, were violent  
against

against the new Administration, it would not influence me, because their motives would be obvious.

If on the other hand, I saw men whose public and private life had been uniformly upright—whose conduct had uniformly tended to the interests of their country and the rights of mankind, support the new administration—I would form a good opinion of the principles on which it acted, and of the measures it was pursuing. In short, I would believe that Government to be best, which the best men SUPPORTED.

The doctrine, of every man being fit to legislate, is pretty industriously propagated. This is very distinct from the people having a right to judge of the effects of laws that are made; and of desiring their repeal. Let me here ask the people at large a few questions. When you are sick and want a physician, would you send to your neighbouring plowman,

man, and give him a fee for his advice? If you are cheated in your property, or a man will not pay you a just debt, will you go to your neighbour manufacturer, and give him a fee to inform you how you can legally obtain your right? If you were choosing a Minister to preach the Gospel, would you choose one, and pay him for it, who could not even read the Scriptures? Consider then why you wish for a man who has studied physick, when you are sick—why you consult a man who has been bred to the law when you are wronged: and why you would choose a minister of learning and piety: and then tell me, if without learning or knowledge you are fit to be Legislators?

A Legislator should have an excellent head, and an undoubted heart: his knowledge should be extensive, and every form of government should be his study: He should have read the history of the world, and minutely studied that of his own country; and the happiness and prosperity



prosperity of the people, should be his greatest object.

But who is to judge of these qualifications? I answer, the people. This leads me to that glorious Constitution which we have regained, and which I also hope, Ireland is to bring to its perfection.

Was my pen but adequate to my purpose; were my powers of reasoning equal to my object; I would lead you to lasting prosperity. I will, however inadequate to the purpose, attempt it; and lay before you the plan I wish you to pursue.

To the Volunteers, I would recommend, never to engage in speculative points, on which it is impossible to obtain unanimity. If again some great and self-evident truth should require it, let them again speak out. Let them remember, Free-

men

men and Freeholders first discussed that Freedom which is now obtained, Should any grievance remain, or hereafter arise let the same course be pursued. The same causes, will invariably produce the same effects.

Though I wish Volunteers to be silent, till the object is perfectly clear, and fully received by the people at large; yet I wish them to retain their arms and their knowledge of them for ever.—With the present generation that knowledge cannot be lost—once a soldier and always a soldier. Teach then the rising generation how to march, and the use of the fire-lock. This will cost nothing but a little trouble. Your arms will descend to your children, and be assured if occasion requires, they will soon learn what remains, to make them useful.

Lord Temple is now our Viceroy. I do not praise men because they are great, but from all I have heard of him, we have every

every reason to expect a just and honourable Administration: But you the people, must enable him to do you service. If you will throw unreasonable obstacles in his way the loss will be your own. There are many, very many, who will rejoice to see you clog the wheels of government. Their corrupt services would then become necessary, and what is no less true, than whimsical—you would pay for them.

We the People are one third of the Constitution. For various reasons, it is impossible we should all meet together to deliberate, and therefore the Commons House of Parliament is to represent us. Let us try whether we are, or are not represented, for we must not be deceived by sounds.

The House of Commons consists of three hundred members. There are sixty-

M

four

four of them sent by the counties; the remainder by cities and boroughs. The sixty-four from counties, are in some measure, in the option of the people, and as many more from the cities and boroughs, may, by an exertion of the people, be freely chosen. Supposing this a fair calculation, and I apprehend it is not far wrong, the people by possibility can only send one hundred and twenty-eight members to Parliament. What is called snug boroughs send the remaining one hundred and seventy-two. These snug boroughs are the property of a few Lords and Commoners, and being the majority, the House of Commons, as it now stands, is the representative of an Aristocracy. It is to that point that Government was long tending, and neither to enlarge the prerogative of the Crown nor the power of the People. Let the Crown then and the People unite, and restore the Constitution.

Let



Let us see the effect of this abuse. A Lord Lieutenant lands with every wish to serve Ireland—Parliament meets—the Commons, who are in fact nearly the representatives of the Lords will not support Government, unless gratified with this place, and that pension: On these terms the business of Government may be done—but then the people look for retrenchment—and if retrenchment is given, Parliament cannot be gratified—and if not gratified, the necessary business cannot be done.

What part then is left for the people? I say if you wish for retrenchment support Government—instruct even that minority of members which you send, to where you ought to send all, to support Government. But if no experience will teach you, and you will for ever listen to any man, who calls himself a patriot—if you will for ever blindly oppose all Government, no matter whether good or

bad,—it is you that keep up useless places and unnecessary pensions—It is you who make taxation burthensome,—and you are the instruments of your own destruction.

Change then your conduct for once—judge of Government by its works, but place a confidence in it, till those works are seen.—See whether this will not bring round that retrenchment which you look for—it is an experiment worth your making.

This for the present, is the conduct I recommend. But there is one object I would have you uniformly keep in view; and if attained; trouble yourselves no more with politics, except at stated times, when you are to renew your delegation.

The

The celebrated Montesquieu, studied Government perhaps more than any other man that ever lived. The result was, that he declared the British Constitution the wisest in the world. That Constitution is ours, and let it be our care to make it, and to keep it, perfect.

The Constitution consists of King, Lords and Commons—each has its particular function----and its perfection is, when each performs its proper duties—The King acts in person----the Lords in person---and the People by their Representatives.-----If the People are not fully and fairly represented, so far the Constitution is impaired.---That it is at this moment so impaired, is self-evident.—The King and the Lords are both mistaken, if they think this adds to their happiness. The purity of the Constitution must be most advantageous to all.

But I shall be told all this is true, but how amend it? I acknowledge it will take time, deliberation, and perseverance---but those three things will do it. Many difficulties will be started; the greatest I apprehend will be the property of the boroughs. Let us attack this difficulty then, and if we can get over the greatest, the lesser will yield before us. The market price, as I have heard, for a borough is 8,000*l*. Suppose eighty-six boroughs to be bought. They would cost 688,000*l*. and I will be bold to say it would be the best purchase the People ever made. It would bring in the principal and interest in a session.

But it will be said, it would be unjust to compel men to sell? I answer, that private gratification should always yield to public good; and as to its being unjust, how can they complain of getting the value of what, constitutionally speaking, they never had, nor never could have



have a right in; let not the Borough-masters think such a measure hard: the Duke of Athol was obliged to sell the rights of the sovereignty of Man, because it was for the good of the empire.

If then this great difficulty can be got over, the smaller ones are little to be feared—England is in pursuit of the same object—Major Cartwright, Doctor Jebb, Mr. Sharp, and a great number of other worthy men, have written on this subject, and in my opinion shewn, that it is an object perfectly within our reach.

Let us begin then—but let us begin and end with temper:—Our present Parliament if not dissolved, must soon die a natural death—at the next election, let the people exert themselves—let them bring in, where they have the power,

[the

the best and wisest men they can find—let them bind them in a solemn promise, to vote for short Parliaments and equal representation—It will be for them afterwards, to see how this glorious measure can be effected—and I would leave the instruction for the present, thus at large.

I have no doubt but those who were not electors, would join in expressing the same wish, because they would also benefit by the event.—I have no doubt, but in these liberal days, every just demand of the people will be acceded to—I have no doubt, but our gracious sovereign feels, that the true honor, dignity and security of his crown, consists in the purity of the constitution—I have no doubt, but the Lords will see, that their hereditary honors and fortunes will be better secured, by their interference in, and usurpation on the Commons being removed:—And I trust the people will know the happiness,

ness, of living under our glorious constitution, too well, ever to wish an encroachment on the privileges of the Peers, or the just prerogatives of the Crown.

If it were possible, our legislature should be again deaf to the just demand of an united people:—Let the Volunteers again come forward—let them again resolve—“that they seek for their rights, and no more than their rights, and in so just a pursuit, would doubt the being of a Providence, if they doubted of success.”

Compare this great object with a speculative renunciation, and a feeble bill of rights—compare it with attacking the just prerogatives of the Crown, and leave such unsubstantial and unprofitable pursuits.

I will here indulge myself, and suppose every difficulty hath yielded to the temper

temper and firmness of the people, and to the wisdom and virtue of real Patriotism ;—I will suppose the constitution in its full vigour, and the rights of the people fully restored.

Behold then the people sending men to Parliament, distinguished for their understanding and knowledge and above all for their integrity ; for without integrity, understanding and knowledge, would be the most dangerous qualification :—Behold such a House of Commons, setting about the glorious work of making a people happy :—Behold them abolishing useless places, and arranging necessary ones :—Behold them encouraging manufactures, and promoting the knowledge of agriculture—Behold them making the laws plain and simple, and bringing justice home, even to the poorest—Behold them making the public revenue and the expenditure keep pace, and rendering the collection of that revenue easy to the subject



ject—Behold them taking off all taxes that fall upon the poor, and placing them where they ought to be, on the luxuries of life—Behold all necessary places, filled by men of ability, knowledge and integrity; and servility and corruption no longer the road to preferment—and then behold inhabitants from every quarter, crowding to your happy Isle—courting the blessings of such a government—receiving happiness from you; and you in return, receiving from them arts and industry, and all that crowns a nation with peace, honor and prosperity.

I have thus laid before you the honest sentiments of my heart---If you conceive I ever bartered principle for gold, you wrong me: As a citizen, I have a right to take any employment, that I am equal to: I have, at least for the present, left the Bar, and have taken a Lieutenant Colonelcy in the Provincials: I have already publicly declared, if called on,  
by

by even a majority of one of those glorious delegates whom I met at Dungan-  
non, on the 21st of June, I will resign it:  
Glorious in my eyes for reasons I have  
already assigned;—but I will not resign  
my principles to any man; and as the  
Provincials have my warmest approba-  
tion, so shall they ever have, my warmest  
support.

I have only to add, that the first wish  
of my heart, is prosperity to Ireland.

F I N I S

6 DE 58